National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CONTINUITY IN THE WORKS OF GÜNTER EICH FROM 1927 TO 1948

BY

MARIANNE JANE HERZOG

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS IN GERMAN LITERATURE.

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1994

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-94861-2

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Marianne Jane Herzog

TITLE OF THESIS: Continuity in the Works of Günter Eich from 1927 to 1948.

DEGREE: Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: Fall 1994

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

#1702, 8510-111 street
Edmonton, Alberta. T6G-1H7

May 9, 1994

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled CONTINUITY IN THE WORKS OF GÜNTER EICH FROM 1927 TO 1948 submitted by MARIANNE JANE HERZOG in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in GERMAN LITERATURE.

Holger Pausch

Dr. Holger Pausch

R. G. Whitinger

Dr. Raleigh Whitinger

Dr. Uri Margolin

Date: May 4, 1994

DEDICATION

To my mother

Tina Berthold Herzog (11.26.40 - 1.24.91)

Abstract

This thesis examines the continuity of Eich's use of certain themes, imagery and vocabulary in selected poetry, prose and radio texts from 1928 to 1948. Determining this continuity will repudiate the traditional theory that Eich's career was divided into three distinct phases; a debut period from 1927 to 1933, virtual silence during the Third Reich, and then after 1945 a transformation into a socially critical writer.

Chapter one details the development of Eich's post World War II image as a socially conscious writer deeply effected by his Third Reich era experiences.

Chapter two outlines the controversy created by critics when they challenged this image by uncovering Eich's involvement with the National Socialist Broadcast system.

Chapter three examines Eich's earliest work from 1927 to 1933 wherein the "Naturmystik" themes, imagery and vocabulary that would recur throughout Eich's career first appear.

Chapter four examines the radio play Schritte zu Andreas and the short story "Die Schattenschlacht" by scrutinizing themes, imagery and vocabulary which persist from Eich's earlier work. Similarities between these two works and "Blut-und-Boden" literature are explored.

Chapter five outlines the National Socialist takeover of the German broadcast system and how Eich came to work for this system.

Chapter six examines an episode of the radio series Deutscher Kalender: Monatsbilder des Königswusterhäuser Landboten, written by Eich and Martin Raschke for the National Socialist broadcast system and according to their standards for literature.

Chapter seven examines Eich's radio play Rebellion in der Goldstadt and the controversy surrounding the part it played in Goebbel's anti-English propaganda campaign.

Chapter eight examines the radio play Radium and if it is a metaphor for Eich's situation as a writer in the Hitler regime, or the first sign of his changing attitude toward the poet's role in society.

Chapter nine examines the poetry which Eich wrote during the Third Reich, repudiating the "poetic crisis" theory that he wrote no poetry during that time. An examination of selected poems shows a continuity in theme, imagery and vocabulary.

Chapter ten outlines the various interpretations of Eich's first post World War II poetry collection Abgelegene Gehöfte and examines selected poems in order to prove the continuity in themes, imagery and vocabulary.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank:

Professor Holger Pausch for his patience, his time above and beyond the call of duty, and for his encouragement.

The members of my examination commitee, Professor Raleigh Whitinger and Professor Uri Margolin for their invaluable suggestions.

Professor Axel Vieregg for his interest in my work, his letters and for providing me with reactions to the Eich controversy to which I would not otherwise have had access.

Professor Manfred Prokop for his unfailing support and for teaching me how to learn and how to teach.

Professor Marianne Henn for being my Vorbild.

Jackie Doig for her "Doig Crash Course" in WordPerfect.

Erwin Warkentin for his books, his comments and his help.

Leanne Boytinck for always being there, even at three o'clock in the morning.

My close friends Tyra Grovet, Shannon LeBlanc and Bobbi Smith for their faith in me.

My Grandmother, the strongest woman I will ever know.

My husband Bill Mallon for his friendship, his unwavering support and his love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM DEVELOPMENT 1

2. THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING EICH'S THIRD REICH ERA WORKS 10

3. THE EARLY YEARS : 1907-1933 21

4. SCHRITTE ZU ANDREAS AND "DIE SCHATTENSCHLACHT" 38

5. EICH'S POSITION IN THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST BROADCAST SYSTEM 48

6. THE DEUTSCHER KALENDER RADIO SERIES 54

7. REBELLION IN DER GOLDSTADT 67

8. RADIUM 76

9. EICH'S THIRD REICH ERA POETRY 84

10. ABGELEGENE GEHÖFTE 91

11. CONCLUSION 104

BIBLIOGRAPHY 106

APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGY OF EICH'S WORKS 115

1. INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM DEVELOPMENT

This thesis will seek to prove that there is a continuity in the works of Günter Eich, from his first publications in the late 1920s, through the Third Reich era, and into the immediate post-World War II period, contrary to the views expressed in conservative criticism.[1] Traditionally, Eich's literary career has been viewed as one marked by juvenile experimentation in the 1920s and early 1930s, virtual silence and passivity from 1933 to 1945, and a dramatic transformation into the socially aware writer of the post World War II era and the 1950s. The following thesis will correct this reading of Eich's biography and integrate all three phases of his work in order to obtain an accurate picture of his literary career. However, in order to undertake this task in a systematic manner, it is important to begin with an examination of the image created of Eich after the Second World War.

Almost immediately after the war Eich became known as one of the most important figures in the post war German literary scene. In the general reference work Reclams Hörspielführer, Heinz Schwitzke summarizes Eich's status as follows:

> ... seit den Gedichtbänden, Abgelegene Gehöfte (1948) und Untergrundbahn (1949), gilt Eich als einer der bedeutendsten Lyriker seiner Generation, seit dem Hörspiel Träume (1951) als der hervorragendste deutsche Hörspieldichter.[2]

The use of superlatives when describing Eich is limited neither to Schwitzke, nor to general reference works. Review articles as well as scholarly studies praise Eich effusively. H. W. Sabais, for example, saw in Eich "ein[en] Avantgardist[en] der Dichtung [und] ein[en] hervorragende[n] Praktiker des Hörspiels."[3] Karl Ude claimed that Eich was the "erfolgreichste

---

[1] Later I will discuss these views as expressed by (among others) Egbert Krispyn, Heinz Schafroth, Susanne Müller-Hanpft and Peter Horst Neumann. All of these critics maintain that there was a marked change in Eich's work after the Third Reich era.

[2] Heinz Schwitzke, ed. Reclams Hörspielführer, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1969) 172.

[3] H. W. Sabais, "Literarisches Porträt," Neue Literarische Welt 4 (May 10, 1953) 3.

Hörspielautor deutscher Zunge."[4] Both Heinz Pointek and Jürgen P. Wallmann concur with Ude's judgement of Eich. Pointek states that Eich's radio plays "haben in Deutschland nicht ihresgleichen."[5] And Wallmann proclaimed that Eich had attained "den Rang des bedeutendsten deutschen Hörspieldichters."[6] Wallman goes on to maintain that Eich's radio plays set the standard for that genre after World War II:

> ...seine Stücke setzen nach dem Kriege den Maßstab für diese Kunstgattung, und man hat nicht ohne Unrecht vom Eich-Maß des Hörspiels gesprochen, mit dem neue Autoren und ihre Werke gemessen wurden (Wallmann 33).

Werner Klose agrees with Wallmann when he states, "Eich [...] setzte die Maßstäbe für eine Generation junger Dramatiker."[7] All of the above examples, from a series of many more, attest to the fact that Eich was successfully transformed into an icon of post World War II German literature.

A common thread which runs through most portrayals of Eich is a strong personal and emotional attachment displayed by the critics. Eich was viewed as representative for all Germans who had lived through the Second World War. In fact, Walter Höllerer even proclaimed Eich to be the "Sprecher der Generation des zweiten Weltkrieges."[8] The personal identification that many critics had with Eich is also apparent in Karl Krolow's interpretation of Eich's famous poem "Inventur" when he writes, "der Gedichttext gibt in seiner Aufzählung von Habseligkeiten wieder, was uns nach der Katastrophe übrig blieb."[9] Krolow does not write "what was left to the protagonist after the catastrophe," but rather, "what was left to us." The use of the first person plural pronoun indicates the critics personal involvement with Eich's poetic expression. Krolow contends that Eich was "one of us," and therefore he interprets "Inventur" as a general and morally correct expression of war and post war experiences in Germany. Siegfried Hajek's interpretation of Eich's poem "Aurora" shows a similiar emotional response to Eich's work. He writes:

---

[4] Karl Ude, "Hat das literarische Hörspiel Zukunft?" Wirkendes Wort 15 (1960) 204.

[5] Heinz Pointek, "Anruf und Verzauberung," Über Günter Eich, Susanne Müller-Hanpft ed. (Frankfurt am Main : Suhrkamp, 1970) 112.

[6] Jürgen P. Wallmann, Argumente. Informationen und Meinungen zur deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart. Aufsätze und Kritiken. (Mühacker: Steglitz, 1968) 33.

[7] Werner Klose, Didaktik des Hörspiels. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1977) 163.

[8] Walter Höllerer, "Deutsche Lyrik 1900 bis 1950. Versuch einer Überschau und Forschungsbericht," Der Deutschunterricht 5 (1953) 101.

> Es ist ja durch das ganze Gedicht hin an das Erwachen des europäischen Tages gedacht, dessen abendliche Stunden wir selbst mitzuerleben meinen - inmitten unserer rauh und stürmisch sich umgestaltenden Gegenwart.[10]

Like Krolow, Hajek has forged a personal connection to Eich's poetry which goes far beyond the boundaries of objective analysis.

The emotional investment which these critics have made in Eich and his work led to a lack of objective criticism. Rather than interpreting or analyzing Eich's works first as those of an individual writer, critics commandered his poetry and radio plays for the purpose of a national "Vergangenheitsbewältigung," as a means for examining and coping with experiences of the Third Reich era.

Critics gave Eich's work immense social significance. Werner Klose, for example, wrote that Eich's work was characterized by a "moralischen Anspruch" (Klose 78), which he also demanded of his audience. Wallmann stressed the ethical, philosophical and religious importance of Eich's works when he states:

---

[9] Karl Krolow, Trümmerlyrik. Politische Lyrik 1945-1950. (Krönberg: n.p., 1977) 92.

[10] Siegfried Hajek, "Günter Eich: Aurora. Versuch einer Interpretation," Der Deutschunterricht 6 (1954) 26.

> ... immer geht es - nicht theoretisierend, sondern in die Bildsprache der Dichtung umgesetzt - in diesen Hörspielen um ethische, philosophische und religiöse Fragen (Wallmann 34).

Eich's works were not seen simply as entertainment. A message was sought in everything he wrote. In criticism from the 1950s and 1960s there was no question that he wrote for any other reason than to make his audience think, to provoke them. Characteristic of this view of Eich's work is Pointek's statement that he "erschüttert, zwingt zur Stellungnahme, er drängt auf Entscheidungen" (Pointek 112).

Pointek's opinion is echoed by Heinrich Klempt:

> Es [the radio play Träume] will die Befindlichkeit des Seelengrundes feststellen, der unsere zivilisierte Lebenswirklichkeit trägt. Das Ergebnis soll jeden aufrütteln, vielleicht sogar alarmieren. Der stark auf Beunruhigung hinzielende Zug der Dichtung findet darin seine Erklärung.[11]

Klempt moves from the general to the specific and explains how and why Eich wants to shake up and alarm his audience. Klempt maintains that Eich's absurdist visions of totalitarian abuse of power, as found in the radio play Träume, are intended to force his audience to remember the recent past (Klempt 64). His interpretation takes on an emotional tone when he argues that Eich's radio play recreates the Third Reich era atmosphere so well:

> Das seelische Klima dieser Zeit umgibt uns körperlich spürbar. Der entstehende Widerwille kennzeichnet die Lage des Hörers. Er hat diese Vergangenheit willentlich aus seinem Bewußtsein verdrängt (Klempt 64).

Klempt points out that Eich's recollection of the past is very clear, otherwise he would not be qualified to demand of all Germans that they remember the Third Reich era.

Klempt maintains that Eich's personal suffering under fascism gave him the ability to write such provocative radio plays as Träume, Die gekaufte Prüfung, and Fis mit Obertönen. He illustrates this point with an analysis of an often quoted line from Träume which reads,

---

[11] Heinrich Klempt, "Günter Eich: Träume," Der Deutschunterricht 6 (1960) 64.

"Nirgendwo auf der Landkarte liegt Korea und Bikini, aber in deinem Herzen." Klempt attributes this social awareness and moral stringency to Eich's experiences under the National Socialist regime as he maintains:

> Es dürfte deutlich sein, daß diese Gedanken [see above quote] die Summe der Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen darstellen, die dem Dichter während der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur und der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit erwachsen sind (Klempt 63).

All of these passages illustrate that critics made Eich's Third Reich era experiences central to their interpretation of his works. Critics attributed the power of Eich's socially aware poetry and radio plays to his personal sharing in the suffering of all Germans under the Hitler regime. The icon of Günter Eich as the moral and socially critical new German writer was built on the foundation of this shared suffering.

This image of Eich remained unchallenged until Marcel Reich-Ranicki's review of his 1968 poetry collection Maulwürfe. Reich-Ranicki was virulent in his criticism of Eich and his experimental poetry, entitling his article "Kein Denkmalschutz für Günter Eich." Reich-Ranicki observes that Eich's post World War II and 1950s image ensures the popularity of his works, rather than the actual quality of the work alone:

> ... schon seit Jahren kann er [Eich] sich alles erlauben. Er mag in der Tat so schlecht singen wie er will, er wird doch gelobt, gerühmt und wohl aufrichtig geliebt.[12]

He calls the texts of Maulwürfe, a form of prose poems, "Vorsichhinblödeln," and dismisses them as nonsense. This review is the first indication that a closer look at Eich's entire body of work, including those works from the Third Reich era, was long overdue, and it would have to be done without the emotional bias created by his image.

---

[12] Marcel Reich-Ranicki, "Kein Denkmalschutz für Günter Eich. Zu den Prosastücken 'Maulwürfe'," Die Zeit (September 27, 1968). Reprinted in Michael Kohlenbach, Günter Eichs späte Prosa. Einige Merkmale der Maulwürfe. (Bonn: Bouvier, 1982) 236.

However, the first systematic investigation of Eich's Nazi era works done by Hans Dieter Schäfer had to wait until 1976.[13] Although limited in the detail it could provide because of its wide scope this article was the first objective discussion of Eich's Third Reich era works, works with the potential to damage his traditional image as the post World War II new German writer.

In the past, the texts which Eich wrote during the Hitler regime have either been studied seperately,[14] in order to declare him innocent or guilty of involvement with the National Socialists, or they have been largely ignored in order to avoid the emotional and moral issues which surround this period of history.[15] In cases where Eich's literary activity between 1933 and 1945 has not been ignored for the most part in secondary literature,[16] it has been understood as a politically harmless act of "inner immigration."[17] From this perspective Heinz Schafroth writes:

> Leute wie Eich waren für die nationalsozialistische Propaganda auf Grund der apolitischen Thematik ihrer Werke nicht benutzbar, und sie waren nicht so wichtig, daß die Machthaber ihnen das offiziell hätten zum Vorwurf machen können.[18]

---

[13] Hans Dieter Schäfer, "Die nichtfaschistische Literatur der 'jungen Generation' im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland," Die Deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich, Horst Denkler, Karl Prümm eds. (Stuttgart : Reclam, 1976) 459-503.

[14] This is the case with the studies done by Glenn R. Cuomo and Axel Vieregg.

[15] The works done by Larry Richardson, Susanne Müller-Hanpft, and Heinz Schafroth are examples of such avoidance.

[16] Susanne Müller-Hanpft, for example, claims that Eich did not write any poetry between 1933 and 1945. Lyrik und Rezeption, (München: Carl Hanser, 1972) 31.

[17] Martyn Arthur Bond, " 'Ich bin gegen das Einverständnis der Dinge in der Schöpfung.' " Review article, German Life and Letters 30,4 (July, 1977) 300. In his biography of Eich, Günter Eich, Egbert Krispyn also refers to his "self-imposed silence" 143.

[18] Heinz F. Schafroth, Günter Eich (München: C.H.Beck, 1976) 16.

Contrary to this point of view, an examination of some of the radio texts which Eich wrote for the National Socialist controlled broadcast system,[19] and of the prose text written in 1936, "Die Schattenschlacht," proves that he was useful for their propaganda purposes.

The question why the early period of Eich's literary activity has been so little researched and examined in comparison to the other phases of his literary development may lie in the fact that such an undertaking might have revealed aspects of Eich which could have been incompatible with his image as created by the media and critics after the Second World War. A detailed investigation of Eich's Third Reich era literary production might have damaged his standing in the emerging literary community of post war Germany. Walter Höllerer, for example, praised Eich's poetry in 1959 as "Dokumente einer genau zusehenden Literatur" and Eich himself as "einen der vertrauenswürdigsten und poetisch sorgsamsten Repräsentanten dieser Literatur."[20] Such a commendation might be considered overly effusive if, for example, one of the episodes written by the recipient for the Deutscher Kalender radio series, a work typical of Eich's Third Reich era production and quite a remarkable piece of National Socialist propaganda, were set next to it.

This thesis will integrate Eich's Third Reich era works into his oeuvre. An examination of similarities between works from all three phases of Eich's career exposes a certain continuity in his literary production, a continuity which has not yet been thoroughly discussed.

---

[19] My starting point for this examination will be Glenn R. Cuomo's study of Eich's Third Reich era works in which he states that the total number of radio texts produced by Eich during that peroid was 160. Only eight complete texts, two fragments and two excerpts are still in existence, however. Career at the cost of Compromise: Günter Eich's Life and Work in the Years 1933-1945. (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1989) 44.

[20] Walter Höllerer, "Rede auf den Preisträger," Über Günter Eich, ed. Susanne Müller-Hanpft (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970) 52.

Several recurring concepts emerge in all three of these phases which bind them together and create a continuum which can be examined in Eich's poetological statements, selected poems, prose texts and radio plays. The concept of "Naturverbundenheit" predominates. A disdain for modern, technical civilization in favour of a return to nature is a dominant characteristic of Eich's earlier work. From 1933 to 1945 this disdain was intensified in all of Eich's works, most notably in the short story "Die Schattenschlacht" and in the 1937 Christmas episode of the Deutscher Kalender series. And, although Eich did later emphasize social issues in his 1950s works, the preoccupation with an escape into the eternal realm of nature remains dominant in his immediate post World War II work, most notably in his 1948 poetry collection Abgelegene Gehöfte.

In the 1950s the emphasis on social issues was perceived as the most important feature of Eich's work by critics who saw in him the prototype of the "new" German writer. As already demonstrated, many critics have attributed the apparent changes in theme to Eich's personal encounters with the Third Reich era. Livia Z. Wittmann, for example, claims that Eich's transformation from the apolitical poet in the 1920s into the politically aware writer in the 1950s is the result of these past experiences, she argues:

> Die Erfahrungen im Dritten Reich, während des Krieges, in der Kriegsgefangenschaft und danach, müssen ihn zur Reflexion über die soziale und politische Situation in Deutschland, über die Literatur und ihre Ab- oder Unabhängigkeit von der Gesellschaft, über die Wirklichkeit und ihre Glaubwürdigkeit veranlaßt haben. Zweifel und Kritik ist das Ergebnis seiner Bestandaufnahme.[21]

Although critics such as Wittmann have recognized the impact Eich's personal experiences during the Hitler regime had on his later work, the majority of them have not recognized the significance of his works written during that same time, choosing instead to ignore, misinterpret or trivialize them in an effort to protect Eich's long-standing reputation. By failing to discuss Eich's Third

---

[21] Livia Z. Wittmann, "Günter Eichs literatur- und sprachtheoretische Äußerungen 1930-1971," Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift 48 (1974) 575.

Reich era works, traditional criticism is denying that there is any connection between this period of his career and his classic period of the 1950s.

Recently, however, there have been two major studies of Eich's Third Reich period work. Glenn R. Cuomo's Career at the Cost of Compromise: Günter Eich's Life and Work in the Years 1933-1945, and Axel Vieregg's Der eigenen Fehlbarkeit begegnet. Günter Eichs Realitäten 1933-1945. A discussion of the controversy created by these two books is important before beginning a demonstration of the continuity in Eich's works. Such a discussion will show the scope of argumentation regarding Eich's involvement with the Third Reich. The major argument of this thesis regarding the continuity in Eich's works can be more clearly presented and illuminated against the background of this controversy.

2. THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING EICH'S THIRD REICH ERA WORKS

Although the studies by Cuomo and Vieregg offer the most detailed survey of Eich's life and work in the years 1933-1945, an article published by Hans Dieter Schäfer in 1976 (see page 6 above) gives indications of the extent of his literary production during that period.

Schäfer points out that more than one-third of the poems in Abgelegene Gehöfte had been written, and some published, in the Third Reich, making Eich's first post World War II poetry collection hardly a new beginning (Schäfer 462). Some of Eich's radio plays were listed among audience favourites in a 1938 listener survey,[22] and the radio series which he wrote with Martin Raschke, Deutscher Kalender. Monatsbilder vom Königswusterhäuser Landboten, which ran monthly from 1933 to 1940, was one of the most successful of the Third Reich era. These facts directly contradict Eich's statement: "Meine Hörspiele wurden damals kaum beachtet."[23]

The next occasion on which Eich's Third Reich involvement was mentioned was in 1979 in the newspaper Die Zeit. Fritz J. Raddatz created a scandal with an exposé in which he wrote:

> [Wenn] Günter Eich Mitglied der NSDAP war und nach seinem Austritt freiwillige Beiträge an die SS einreichte, dann muß irgendwo eine innere Möglichkeit zur Übereinstimmung vorhanden gewesen sein; man bezahlt nicht, was man haßt.[24]

Raddatz's intention was to expose the myth of the new beginning of German post World War II literature by showing that the writers of this new literature had honed their craft during the Third Reich.

---

[22] Die Literatur 41 (1938/39) 495.

[23] Horst Günther Funke, Die Literarische Form des deutschen Hörspiels in historischer Entwicklung, Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1963 (Erlangen: privately printed, 1963) 108.

[24] Fritz J. Raddatz, "Wir werden weiter dichten, wenn alles in Scherben fällt...: Der Beginn der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur," Die Zeit U.S. Edition 41 (Oct.19, 1979) 10.

Raddatz was criticized by the academic community for sloppy scholarship and boulevard press sensationalism when he admitted that his source for the SS membership application allegation was an aquaintance of Eich's who wished to remain unnamed. Hellmuth Karasek called Raddatz's "moralische Entrüstung" embarrassing and accused Raddatz of "moralinsaure Verstiegenheit" and "moralische Windmühlenkämpfe."[25] Marcel Reich-Ranicki disclaimed Raddatz's article as "böswillig" and criticized it as being full of "falschen Informationen und entstellten Zitaten, absurden Behauptungen und abenteuerlichen Gedankensprüngen."[26] Walter Jens called it "Aberwitz, [...] ein Wirrwarr und Sammelsurium."[27] The virulence with which these highly respected critics attacked Raddatz indicates that the issue of the artistic integrity of those writers who had remained active during the National Socialist regime was still a sensitive subject in the 1970s. The critics' main point of contention was that Raddatz was using minimal factual evidence to make moral judgements thirty-four years after the fact.

Glenn R. Cuomo, however, sees a deeper issue emerging from the Raddatz "scandal." In his 1989 study of Eich's Third Reich literary activity, Cuomo contends that Raddatz's allegations challenged the image of Eich as a type of passive resistor during the Nazi regime (Cuomo 8), an image best characterized by Joachim Kaiser when he writes of Eich, "Durch die Nazi-Zeit rettete er sich, irgendwie, und makellos."[28] Cuomo states that a challenge of this image is warranted because:

---

[25] Hellmuth Karasek, "Jahrmarkt der Flüchtigkeiten," Der Spiegel 48 (November 26, 1979) 229.

[26] Marcel Reich-Ranicki, as qouted in Karasek 229.

[27] Walter Jens, as qouted in Karasek 229.

[28] Joachim Kaiser, "Günter Eich, der Poet, ist gestorben," Günter Eich zum Gedächtnis (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973) 83.

> Eich's very emphasis on criticism of the establishment and his almost self-righteous posturing in Träume about the suppressed guilt from the Nazi era beg some provocative questions about his own past (Cuomo 7).

Cuomo uncovered evidence proving that this image of Eich as passive resistor or a so called "inner immigrant" was based on false information. Eich had produced over 160 radio texts between 1933 and 1940,[29] some of which appear to have been in direct compliance with directives issued by the National Socialist Ministery of Propaganda.[30]

Cuomo accounts for all of Eich's work (from poetry to short fiction to radio plays) from 1933 to 1945, and analyzes several radio plays in order to prove that Eich had made artistic compromises in an effort to establish a career during the Third Reich. Cuomo contends that in Eich's work there were affinities to National Socialist concepts of colonialism, Prussian chauvinism and to "Blut-und-Boden" ideology (Cuomo 137).

Cuomo also maintains that Eich regretted the compromises he had made with the National Socialist regime and he interprets the radio plays Radium and Fährten in der Prärie as allegories of Eich's position in the Third Reich. In both radio plays there is a poet character who has compromised his artistic integrity by writing propaganda for the establishment in an attempt to survive. Cuomo compares these characters to Eich and argues that his conduct during the Third Reich marked him as an opportunist.

However, Cuomo also maintains that Eich's work for the National Socialists can be seen as a necessary phase in his artistic evolution:

> Perhaps it took the compromising experiences of his involvement with the Nazi radio and his accomodation of fascist ideology and other propagandistic aims to dislodge Eich from the "apolitical," neo-romantic tendencies of his early writing, as well as from his correspondingly conservative poetological views (Cuomo 138).

---

[29] See **Chronology of Eich's Works**.

[30] Rebellion in der Goldstadt is Cuomo's prime example.

In contrast to the traditional view that Eich was a passive resistor between 1933 and 1945 and effected by fascism as an outsider, Cuomo sees Eich as a participant in the National Socialist regime and its production of propaganda.

Cuomo's book received no attention from the German academic community other than Axel Vieregg's reference to it in his essay Der Eigenen Fehlbarkeit Begegnet: Günter Eichs Realitäten 1933-1945,[31] published in February of 1993. Vieregg sees his own essay not only as a continuation of Cuomo's work, but also as a positive alternative to Cuomo's negative and rather dark portrait of Eich. In contrast to Cuomo, Vieregg understands Eich not so much as an opportunist but rather as a struggling young writer who became involved with the National Socialists before he realized what this involvement would entail. By examining passages from Eich's letters, Vieregg seeks to prove that Eich later realized the moral compromise which he had made with his opportunism, and that it was guilt over these compromises which gave him the "dichterische Kraft" (Vieregg 6) which made his socially critical works of the post war years and the 1950s possible.

Yet although Vieregg was attempting to put Eich's Third Reich literary activity into context and defend his actions, he was criticized for his lack of solid evidence to prove his charge of "ideologische Bestechlichkeit"[32] against Eich, and his attempt at objectivity was labelled "gesinnungsprüferische Rechthaberei." The emotional censure unleashed by Vieregg's essay illustrates that any discussion of the writers who had worked during the Third Reich remains as much a contentious issue in 1993 as it had been in the 1979 Raddatz scandal.

---

[31] Axel Vieregg, Der eigenen Fehlbarkeit begegnet. Günter Eichs Realitäten 1933-1945 (Erlangen: Edition Isele, 1993) 11. The essay was intended as an afterward to a planned volume of Eich's collected letters. Suhrkamp has not announced any plans to publish the volume since Vieregg has the manuscript in New Zealand. Neither Suhrkamp, nor Eich's heirs are willing to see the volume published with Vieregg's essay as the afterward, this according to Ulrich Greiner, "Ein Streit um Eich," Die Zeit 16 (April 23, 1993). No page numbers are available for this article which will hereafter be referred to as simply Greiner.

[32] Fachdienst Germanistik 6 (June, 1993) 8.

The majority of critics saw Vieregg's essay as an attack on Eich's reputation, and in an effort to defend the image of Eich as an apolitical poet during the Third Reich, critics sought to downplay the extent of his literary production during that period and its propagandistic nature. Three critics were particularly virulent in their condemnation of Vieregg's essay; Joachim Storck,[33] Peter Horst Neumann[34] and Ulrich Greiner.[35] However, in their attempts to defend Eich's image, they all resorted to false and outdated information, denying outright the facts that Cuomo and Vieregg uncovered.

Joachim Storck insists that Eich's work for the National Socialist controlled radio system was no more than "Brotarbeit," that it remained "ganz unpolitisch," and that it ended in 1939 when Eich was called up for army duty. Storck also states that between 1933 and 1945 Eich published only one short story, "Katharina," a "Lesebüchlein" of his radio series episodes written with Martin Raschke, and a few poems.

In his reply to Storck's review[36] Vieregg corrects Storck's factual mistakes in point form. Vieregg argues that Eich earned a good deal more than "sein trockenes Brot" with his radio work. He was able to finance a vacation home on the Ostsee, buy a car and rent an apartment in one of Berlin's better districts. Vieregg points out that Storck has ignored the existence of the short story "Die Schattenschlacht," whose affinity to "Blut-und-Boden" literature had been demonstrated by Cuomo in 1989, a study which Storck likewise fails to mention. Eich did not stop writing radio plays in 1939, but rather in May of 1940 and with a propaganda piece entitled Rebellion in der Goldstadt, a radio play which Vieregg calls an "Auftragsarbeit im Rahmen der von Goebbels verordneten Anti-Englandkampagne, für die Eich eigens beurlaubt wurde."[37]

---

[33] Joachim Storck, "Im Grenzbereich von Groteske und Infamie," Süddeutsche Zeitung (March 23,1993).

[34] Peter Horst Neumann, "Günter Eich und der Hörfunk im Nazi-Staat," Neue Zürcher Zeitung (May 6, 1993).

[35] See footnote 31.

[36] The following qoutations from Vieregg are taken from his personal letter sent to the Feuilleton editor of the Stuttgarter Zeitung, kindly provided by Professor Vieregg.

Storck also challenged points of interpretation in Vieregg's essay. He maintains that Eich's Deutscher Kalender series was not National Socialist propaganda, but rather harmless nostalgia akin to "Heimatliteratur," which could be called a "suspekte Flucht in die Innerlichkeit," and that a comparison of the Landbote series to "Blut-und-Boden" literature borders on "Infamie." Storck argues further that the few "zusammengekratzten" reviews of Eich's radio plays taken by Vieregg from the Völkischer Beobachter do not constitute proof that Eich's work was praised by the National Socialists and made him one of the most successful radio writers of that era.

In answer to Storck's first objection, Vieregg writes:

> Nicht "Flucht in die Innerlichkeit" werfe ich Eich vor - erkläre sie vielmehr aus der Zeitströmung - sondern das, was über eine solche Innerlichkeit hinausgeht und sich als Konzession an ein völkisch-nordisches Rassebewußtsein etwa in Eichs Sonnenwendchor vom Dezember 1937 äußert: "des Nordlands Völker senken tief ihr Haupt /.../ Du, schönes Land, in dem die Deutschen wohnen, / mach wieder deine blauen Augen auf!"[38]

Vieregg makes it clear that he is looking beyond Eich's "Naturverbundenheit" themes which bear a resemblance to "Heimatliteratur." He is focussing on those elements which are clearly in agreement with National Socialist ideology. In reply to Storck's objection that there is insufficient proof that Eich's work was preferred by the National Socialists, Vieregg writes that he quoted only one review, but one which praised the " 'heimatlichen Urgrund', den Volksgemeinschaftsgeist des Königswusterhäuser Landboten ausdrücklich und ausführlich."

---

[37] A detailed discussion of this campaign and Eich's involvement in it was undertaken by Cuomo in his article "Some New Facts about Günter Eich in the Nazi Period and the Importance of Context: A reconstruction of his Nonextant radio Play 'Rebellion in der Goldstadt'," University of Dayton Review 16.3 (1983/84) 3-8. It must be noted that an original broadcast recording of the play was found in October of 1993 in an archive which was housed in a Prague cloister.

[38] Vieregg's personal letter to the Stuttgarter Zeitung.

Peter Horst Neumann concurs with Storck's judgement of Eich's works as apolitical, harmless entertainment. He maintains that Eich's radio texts were "fast durchwegs Hörszenen unterhaltungsliterarischer Art, deren künstlerischen Wert Eich mit Recht, und schon damals, als belanglos einschätzte." He insists that these trivial entertainment texts were used by the National Socialist broadcast system to create a reputable appearance. Neumann defends Eich's decision to stay in the National Socialist broadcast system as a necessity, since a retreat from the radio work would have destroyed his "labile materielle Basis." Neumann claims that Eich's freelance radio work earned him no more than a "Mindestmass an Wohlverhalten" and for Neumann the question remains "in welcher Höhe Eich diesen Preis entrichtete und ob er sich dabei kompromittierte." Neumann does not believe that Vieregg has provided sufficient evidence to prove that Eich willingly compromised with the National Socialists.

In a personal letter to Neumann, Vieregg counters the argument that Eich's radio texts were harmless entertainment by stating that this distinction is "eine Frage der Toleranzschwelle, was man noch als harmlose Unterhaltung, als noch vertretbaren Kompromiß oder schon als peinliche Kompromittierung ansieht."[39] For Vieregg, the December 1937 episode of the Deutscher Kalender series crosses the border between harmless entertainment and compromise with National Socialist ideology, and he stresses the importance of critically examining such works instead of dismissing them as trivial:

---

[39] Professor Vieregg has been kind enough to provide a copy of his personal letter to Neumann.

> ... wenn wir das, was Eich da geschrieben hat, als nicht kompromittierend hinnehmen, wenn wir achselzuckend akzeptiern, daß er (aber das wird ja sorgsam verschwiegen!), wie der Fall der KdF-Sendung beweist, nachweislich nach Weisungen der Partei NS-Ideologeme unters Volk brachte, dann ist jede Aufklärungsarbeit über die Literatur dieser Zeit sinnlos.[40]

As with Storck and Neumann, Ulrich Greiner does not believe that Eich consciously chose to be of service to the National Socialists. He claims instead that Eich was exploited by them. In his review of Vieregg's essay Greiner sums up what he considers to be the theme of the essay and makes an important and justifiable claim, namely that Eich did not provide the National Socialists with any active resistance because of his ideological stance prior to 1933:

> Das große Thema hinter diesem kleinen Fall ist die politische und moralische Mitverantwortung jener, die dem Nationalsozialismus keinen aktiven Widerstand entgegengesetzt haben. Eich war einer von ihnen. Er war Teil jener zivilisationskritischen, antirationalen und politikverachtenden geistigen Strömung, die sich Ende der zwanziger Jahre herausgebildet hatte. In mancher Hinsicht ähnlich wie heute herrschte damals das krisenhafte Gefühl, es sei nun genug experimentiert, provoziert und politisiert worden. Man sehnte sich zurück nach dem Wesentlichen, Eigentlichen, Ursprünglichen, was immer das sein möchte, und suchte Trost in der Natur, in der Gemeinschaft, in sich selber.

Thus, Greiner places Eich on a timeline that makes his passivity in the Third Reich at least understandable.

Greiner contends that while Eich may not have been an active resistor, he was not an irresponsible opportunist, and he maintains that Eich's "juvenil anarchistischer Trotz" of the 1920s and early 1930s caused him to ignore the political situation around him and seek escape in his own "Gefühlswelt." Citing Hans Dieter Schäfer,[41] Greiner claims that the writers of Eich's generation wrote no differently between 1933 and 1945 than before. In the article to which Greiner refers, Schäfer argues that the desire to recreate old and valued beliefs in literature, of the kind found in Deutscher Kalender, was not a result of the National Socialist cultural policy, "sondern Produkt ein und derselben geschichtlichen Krise, die auch den Nationalsozialismus zum Sieg geführt hat." Taking this factor into consideration, Greiner argues that no-one can separate literature from the Third Reich into Resistance literature or Nazi literatur, and he states that whoever attempts to do so, "legt das politisch-moralische Raster der Dichtomie Faschismus/Antifaschismus an. Es ist das Raster der sechziger Jahre, des Neomarxismus und der Faschismustheorien."

---

[40] Personal letter from Vieregg to Neumann.

[41] The essay to which Greiner is referring is to be found in Literaturmagazin (1976). Greiner does not give title or page information.

Greiner contends that anti-civilization, anti-rational, pro-nature, pro-history tendencies of the type present in Eich's works were not a product of fascist thinking, but rather exploited by National Socialist cultural policy. Any ideology which exhibits these tendencies is then exploitable. But, Greiner claims: "Das solcherart ausbeutbare Denken ist sicherlich nicht unschuldig, wobei man fragen kann, welches Denken überhaupt unschuldig sei." This platitude indicates a defensive, simplistic line of argumentation which maintains that anyone could have done what Eich did in the Third Reich. Such an argument necessarily requires a belief that exploitation cannot be resisted, and that only circumstances can prove what thoughts are innocent or guilty, and thus exploitable. Such an argument leaves Greiner free to accuse Vieregg of employing a "schwungvolle Schwarzweißmoral" when he claims that Eich denied any personal responsibility for the actions of the National Socialist government under which he lived and for which he worked.

Greiner argues that the laments voiced by Eich in the letters referred to by Vieregg (Vieregg 42) do not indicate that he regretted working for the National Socialist controlled broadcast system. Eich's misgivings about his work do not constitute conscious admission that he was working directly for the party. According to Greiner, Eich regretted having to sink "so tief unter das eigene literarische Niveau." Therefore Greiner concludes that Eich disliked writing trash and voiced this dislike. But Greiner does not see an admission of cooperating with the Hitler Reich. This trash, however, did make Eich part of the "Idyllenproduktion des Nationalsozialismus," and Vieregg's examination of Deutscher Kalender illustrates how Eich's work served National Socialist propaganda purposes.

Vieregg uses Eich's letters to show that he followed Ministry directives when writing the Deutscher Kalender series (Vieregg 26). Vieregg also presents a Reichsverband Deutscher Schriftsteller declaration which Eich signed on July 18, 1933. This declaration contains the following sentence:

> Ich erkläre nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen die vorstehenden Angaben gemacht zu haben und werde mich jederzeit für das deutsche Schrifttum im Sinne der nationalen Regierung einsetzen (Vieregg 20).

Although all writers had to sign this declaration in order to publish any work, it still proves that Eich knew that the National Socialist party would control his literary production to some extent.

The fact that Eich was fully aware that he was part of the National Socialist propaganda machinery is essential to Vieregg's central argument, namely, that Eich later regretted his compromise and that this regret led to a fundamental change in his concept of reality. A change which made him capable of producing the socially critical works of his "classical" period.

Vieregg argues that this change first manifests itself in the radio play Radium written in 1937, and thus Vieregg recognizes a continuity in Eich's work. He believes that this continuity could be ignored if Eich's post World War II and 1950s image as Germany's "new" socially aware writer were overemphasized. After the Second World War Eich was regarded as one of the "junge Autoren" making their debut. But Vieregg points out, "eine solche Sicht war geeignet, den Neuanfang überzubetonen, Kontinuität bewußt oder unbewußt vergessen zu machen und die eigene schriftstellerische Tätigkeit während der Hitlerjahre zu verdrängen" (Vieregg 7).

Although critics such as Greiner believe that there is a continuity from Eich's earliest works to those which he wrote during the Third Reich, they do not concede that the continuity is carried through to his works of the post World War II period and into the 1950s. Vieregg's essay shows that such a continuity does exist. Vieregg argues that a fundamental change in Eich's concept of reality made a difference in his work after the Third Reich. I agree with Vieregg that there was a change in Eich's concept of reality. Who would not exhibit such a change after the catastrophic events of the Third Reich. I am unable to confirm a metamorphosis in Eich's work that causes a discontinuity between his literary production from his debut and Third Reich era periods and his post-World War II career. My prime example is Abgelegene Gehöfte in which Eich carries on with his view of nature from his earlier poems. I will concentrate on an examination of the imagery and themes which prevail in all three phases of Eich's work. In the next chapter I will discuss Eich's works from 1929 to 1933, along with his various poetological statements, in order to recreate that period of his career in which the many concepts, themes and images which survived in his Third Reich era work were first used.

3. THE EARLY YEARS: 1907-1933.

Günter Eich was born in 1907 in Lebus an der Oder, east of Berlin. In 1918 his family moved to Berlin where his father, Otto, opened an office as a tax accountant. In 1925 Eich completed his "Abitur" (the German equivalent of the academic High School diploma) in Leipzig and in the same year he began studying sinology, economics and jurisprudence in Berlin. In 1927 Eich transferred to the University of Leipzig where he studied for one semester. Eich made his literary debut in the same year when six of his poems were published under the pseudonym Erich Günter,[42] in addition to the essay "Europa contra China" in Die jüngste Dichtung. In 1928 Eich moved to Paris where he continued to study sinology together with French for one year. In that same year two of his poems appeared in Die neue Rundschau,[43] under his own name for the first time.

Eich returned to Berlin in 1929 and enrolled in the "Wirtschaftsschule." He also became involved with "Die Kolonne," a group of young writers from Berlin and Dresden.[44] He was a regular contributer to their journal also called Die Kolonne[45] with three of his poems appearing in 1929.[46] The essay "Innere Dialoge," a review and another three poems followed in 1930.[47] That same year his first collection of poetry was released, entitled simply Gedichte.[48]

---

[42] Willi Fehse, Klaus Mann eds. Anthologie jüngster Lyrik (Hamburg: Gebrüder Enoch, 1927) 30-37. The poems were, "Verirrt," "Nach dreißig Wochen grundloser," "Im Dunkel bluten immer noch die Wunden der Heiligen," "Ich lebe fast ohne Schmerzen," "Schritte gehn in irgendeiner Dunkelheit," and the verse trilogy "Verse an vielen Abenden."

[43] "Bildnis von Ulalu" and "Der Anfang kühlerer Tage," Die neue Rundschau 39 (1928) 290-91.

[44] Other group members included Martin Raschke, Jürgen Eggebrecht, Horst Lange, Elisabeth Langgässer and Oda Schaefer.

[45] Published in Dresden by Wolfgang Jess, the same man who would later release Eich's first collection of poetry in 1930.

[46] "Among my souvenirs," "Ägyptische Plastik" and "Tango," Die Kolonne 1,1 (Dec. 1929) 3-4. All three poems were later included in Eich's first collection of poems Gedichte, published in 1930.

Eich remained at the School of Commerce until 1931 at which time he began working at his father's tax accounting office, where he stayed until 1932. He continued to contribute to Die Kolonne, where in the 1931 edition an excerpt from his play Der Präsident, two prose pieces,[49] and two poems appeared.[50] He also published a short prose text, "Eine alte Frau," in the literary journal Die literarische Welt, and he wrote two reviews for Die Kolonne under the pseudonym Georg Winter. The year 1931 also marked Eich's first venture into the radio broadcast medium with the radio play Leben und Sterben des Sängers Caruso, a co-production with Martin Raschke[51] which was broadcast on April 9 from Berlin.[52] In 1932 Eich decided to devote himself to a fulltime career as a writer.[53] That year six of his poems were chosen for an anthology edited by Martin Raschke.[54] Furthermore he wrote four reviews again using the pseudonym Georg Winter, and another radio play, Ein Traum am Edsin-gol, which appeared in the last issue of Die Kolonne.[55]

---

[47] "Gegen vier Uhr nachmittags," "Photographie" and "Gedichte im März oder Oktober," Die Kolonne 1,3 (1930) 15.

[48] See footnote 46.

[49] "Morgen an der Oder" and "Prosafragment."

[50] "Erwachen" and "Morgen."

[51] Eich's closest friend, Raschke was born in 1905 in Dresden and died in combat in Russia in 1943. With A. Arthur Kühnert he edited and published the journal Die Kolonne. Along with his radio plays, Raschke wrote several novels, most well known of which was Die ungleichen Schwestern, published in 1939.

[52] Funke, Die literarische Form des deutschen Hörspiels. The text of this radio play is no longer in existence.

[53] Cuomo 141. This information originally comes from Eich's curriculum vitae, which he submitted to the Reichsschrifttumskammer on May twentieth, 1936. The document is at the Berlin Document Centre: Reichskulturkammerakten: Akte: Günter Eich.

[54] Martin Raschke ed. Neue lyrische Anthologie (Dresden: Wolfgang Jess, 1932) 21-22. Only two of the six poems were new, "Manchmal" and "Erste Januar."

Eich's involvement with the group "Die Kolonne" is the most important aspect of the first six years of his literary career. His connections with certain group members would also prove invaluable to his career during the Nazi years.[56] But most important is the fact that, through his association with these young writers, Eich formed his opinions about the function of literature, namely, that literature must remain 'above' political and social issues and concentrate instead on the individual.

A brief exploration of the ideology of the group "Die Kolonne" and how Eich adhered to it will expand upon Greiner's argument that Eich remained passive during the Third Reich because of the apolitical and antirational stance which he took prior to 1933.[57] Thereafter, an examination of some poems representative of Eich's earliest work will illustrate how this attitude manifested itself.

The group "Die Kolonne" can best be described as apolitical and artistically conservative. Members preferred literature with no political agenda, defending instead the artist's right to remain subjective. Such beliefs were not common within the artistic community of the late Twenties and early Thirties. Cuomo points out that at that time "writers were not expected to remain 'above' the political and social turmoil resulting from the shock waves of the Stock Market Crash" (Cuomo 14).

---

[55] Die Kolonne 3,4 (1932) 53-58. According to Cuomo (page 11), Eich wrote another radio play in 1932, Die Liebenden von gestern, which survives only as a title. The radio play was to be published in Die Kolonne as announced in the April issue. Neither play was ever broadcast.

[56] His friendship with Jürgen Eggebrecht would save him from front line combat. I will discuss this issue further in chapter five.

[57] See pages 18 and 19 of this thesis.

As an example of a politically committed writer, Cuomo presents Johannes R. Becher.[58] Becher was president of the *Bund proletarisch-revolutionärer Schriftsteller (BPRS).* In their journal, Die Linkskurve, *BPRS* members spoke out against bourgeois writers who concentrated on timeless themes instead of contemporary concerns. In the lead article of the first issue of Die Linkskurve, Becher summarized the intent of the *BPRS* as opposed to that of the more conservative bourgeois writers:

> Wir umgeben uns nicht mit einem Dunst von Ewigkeit wie die bürgerlichen Literaten, die ausschließlich damit beschäftigt sind, die vorhandenen Tatsachen geistreich als 'Schicksal' zu beschwatzen. [...] Kunst ist für uns eine höchst verantwortliche und gefährliche Sache.[59]

Frank Trommler, a prominent West German Germanist of the 1960s, 70s and 80s, contends that the journal Die Kolonne was a reaction of so-called bourgeois writers to such literary activity as represented by the BPRS and Die Linkskurve.[60] Fritz Schlawe asserts that Die Kolonne represented in fact, "ausgesprochene Ablehnung der Blut- und Bodentendenz einerseits und der Proletkunst andererseits."[61]

---

[58] Becher would become a prominent figure in the government of the German Democratic Republic. From 1945 to 1958 he was President of the Kulturbund, in 1953 he was appointed President of the East Berlin Akademie der Künste, and in 1954 he was appointed Minister of Culture.

[59] Johannes R. Becher "Unsere Front," Die Linkskurve 1,1 (1929) 1-2. Reprinted in Cuomo 142.

[60] Frank Trommler "Emigration und Nachkriegsliteratur: Zum Problem der geschichtlichen Kontinuität," Exil und Nachkriegsliteratur: Third Wisconsin Workshop. Reinhold Grimm, Jost Hermand eds. (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1972) 179.

[61] Fritz Schlawe Literarische Zeitschriften Teil II, 1910-1933. Sammlung Metzler 24 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1962) 20.

Contrary to Schlawe's assertion, the Blood and Soil aesthetic soon to become synonomous with the National Socialist regime's position on art was not altogether absent from Die Kolonne.[62] In his essay "Man trägt wieder Erde,"[63] Martin Raschke reaffirms one of the basic tenets of Blood and Soil ideology, namely, that modern metropolitan civilization has lost its connection with nature, a bond which farmers still have. Raschke objects, however, to the preference of *Heimatliteratur*, a literature which idealized country life, over the "Naturmystik" writing of metropolitan artists. He argues that *Heimatliteratur* provides no unique insight into nature just because it deals with country life. Literature written by writers in the city is just as able to explore the relationship between human and nature.

The close affinity between the literature of Die Kolonne and Blood and Soil literature was is evident in the "Programmerklärung" published on the title page of the first issue which contains a mixture of romantic *Weltfremdheit* and Blood and Soil ideology:

> Allein der Angst, den Anschluß an eine Wirklichkeit zu verlieren, die aus sich einer gelobten Zukunft zuzustreben scheint, ist das Entstehen einer Sachlichkeit zuzuschreiben, die den Dichter zum Reporter erniedrigte und die Umgebung des proletarischen Menschen als Gefühlsstandard modernen Dichtens propagierte. Und es fanden sich genügend Stimmen, die überall das Dichten als leicht erlernbaren Beruf ausschrien, spottend über Intuitionen und Gnade, obwohl nie jemand angenommen hatte, daß es ihnen sonderlich Mühe gewesen wäre, ihr Herz auf Taille zu bügeln. Aber noch immer leben wir von Acker und Meer, und die Himmel, sie reichen auch über die Stadt. Noch immer lebt ein großer Teil der Menschheit in ländlichen Verhältnissen, und es entspringt nicht mäßiger

---

[62] Within the parameters of this thesis, the term "Blut-und-Boden" ideology/literature will be used synonomously with National Socialist ideology/literature. The party claimed the term as descriptive of its policies and ideology as the following definition makes clear: "**Blut und Boden,** der Leitgedanke für die Bauern- und Bodenpolitik des nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Reiches, erneuert die im älteren germanischen Recht bestehende Bindung." Der Volksbrockhaus, ninth edition. (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1940) 72.

[63] Martin Raschke "Man trägt wieder Erde," Die Kolonne 2,4 (1931) 47. Excerpts reprinted in Cuomo 16.

> Traditionsfreude, wenn ihm Regen und Kälte wichtiger sind als ein Dynamo, der nie das Korn reifte.[64]

The idealization of the agrarian sensibility, the emphasis on a necessary bond with the land rather than with 'civilization,' and the emphasis on intuition over objective observation and skill are all elements which were favoured by the National Socialists.

The only case of "ausgesprochene Ablehnung" of National Socialist ideology to be printed in Die Kolonne (Cuomo 60) is an essay by Otto Merz entitled "Die verratene Dichtung."[65] Merz attacks the extreme right wing of the National Socialists for adopting the tactics of the left wing in using art for the purposes of propaganda:

> Wie überall hat auch die Rechte inzwischen von der Linken gelernt, und mehr noch: sie hat kapituliert. Ein Programm der Nationalsozialisten, das sich mit den Aufgaben der Kunst im dritten [sic] Reiche beschäftigt, unterscheidet sich nur in unwesentlichen Punkten von den Programmen der linken Front; hier wie dort soll der Schreibende und jeder andere Schaffende nach Möglichkeit zum Reklamefachmann der jeweiligen Staatsideologie werden, nur mit dem Unterschiede, daß dabei die Rechte immer sich so aufführt, als bewahre sie allein ungemindert das klassische oder romantische Bild des Dichters (Merz 61; Cuomo 18).

What the writers of Die Kolonne objected to was not any particular party ideology per se, but rather to any party's use of art for its own political purposes. In this respect, Eich can be seen as representative of Die Kolonne, and an examination of his essays, reviews and poetry published in the journal will prove this point. As Cuomo states:

> [Eich's] comments on contemporary works and tendencies are invaluable for the study of his early period, since they make it possible to ascertain Eich's poetological and ideological stance during the declining years of the Weimar Republic. His views are consistent with the editorial thrust of Die Kolonne on all major issues, and at times he even appears in the role of a spokesman for the journal's policy (Cuomo 14).

---

[64] Reprinted in Livia Z. Wittmann "Ein Überblick über Günter Eichs literatur- und sprachtheoretische Äußerungen 1930-1971," Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift 48 (1974) 569.

[65] Otto Merz "Die verratene Dichtung," Die Kolonne 2,4 (1931) 61.

Eich's first poetological statement can be found in the essay "Innere Dialoge,"[66] Eich's reply to a request from the editors of Die Kolonne made to fifty young writers for comments about the intent of their writing. The twenty three year old Eich replies that since he never asks himself about the intentions of his writing, he cannot answer the question as to why he writes. He believes that the finished product must stand alone as the answer. And he claims, "[ich] werde immer darauf verzichten, auf mein 'soziales Empfinden' hinzuweisen" (GW IV 457), thus clearly indicating that his writing will never serve social issues, even if such a stance will lose him the sympathy of the Left Wing, or worse, even if he will not be seen as current or fashionable.

Eich concludes his essay with the seemingly arrogant proclamation: "Und Verantwortung vor der Zeit? Nicht im geringsten. Nur vor mir selber." Eich equates social commitment with a passing fad. He believes that his work must stand alone, separate from him and thus from his own political views. In his 1983 book Committed Aestheticism. The Poetic Theory and Practice of Günter Eich, Larry L. Richardson states that "Innere Dialoge" sets out Eich's theory of "romantic aestheticism in opposition to the utilitarian art forms characteristic of the committed poets of the Weimar Republic."[67]

What Eich considers good poetry can be seen in his review of two 1930 translations of Villon's poetry.[68] Eich uses concepts compatible with Blood and Soil ideology to praise the

---

[66] Die Kolonne 1,2 (February, 1930) 7. Reprinted in Gesammelte Werke IV 457. The present title was first given to the essay by the editors of the 1973 edition of Eich's Gesammelte Werke.

[67] Larry L. Richardson, Committed Aestheticism. The Poetic Theory and Practice of Günter Eich, American University Studies 21 (New York: Peter Lang,1983) 20.

[68] From Die Kolonne. Reprinted in Gesammelte Werke IV 545. Francois Villon (actually Francois de Montcorbier or des Loges, Villon was the name of his patron, the Chaplain Guillaume de Villon) born 1431, disappeared in 1463 after being banned from Paris for ten years for killing a priest in a knife fight. He wrote few works, mostly poems and ballads, six of which

"asoziale, triebhafte" nature of the 500 year old poems and he expresses doubt as to whether such "instinctiveness" could be possible in a modern age:

> ... ob wir heute noch alle Triebkräfte unseres Lebens so ungehindert entfalten können, ist eine Frage, [...] denn die Lockung der Zivilisation scheint stärker zu sein als die Stimme des Blutes (GW IV 545).

Eich's apparent longing to hear "the voice of the blood" rather than to give in to the "temptation" of civilization is representative of a belief that would become synonomous with National Socialist ideology.

In his review of Johannes R. Becher's Der große Plan,[69] Eich objects strenously to the combination of art and propaganda. He believes that such a combination makes both bad art and ineffective propaganda:

> Die Forderung der Einheit von Dichtung und politischer Propaganda ist auch hier nicht Wirklichkeit geworden, und sie wird es auch anderswo nie werden. Propaganda, soweit sie nicht auf Eroberung der Dummheit berechnet ist, wirkt durch die vorgebrachten Tatsachen. Dichtung aber ist ihrem Wesen nach indirekt, nie kann ein "Gedicht" über den Fünfjahresplan konkurrieren mit der Wirkung von Statistiken und kühlen Feststellungen. Warum ein Epos, wenn Zahlen klarer und präziser sprechen? (GW IV 551)

Thus, in Eich's opinion, poetry which is written to serve a social or political cause cannot be a spontaneous self expression since it is committed to a belief system which is externally imposed on the individual.

Eich defends his right to create poetry that will exist as purely a work of art, without any purpose, especially a political one:

---

were written in street slang. His work is a mixture of "Dieseitsfreude, Obszönität und echter kindliche Frömmigkeit. Ironie, Witz, Zynismus stehen neben ernster Einsicht in die Wertlosigkeit des Lebens und schluchzender Reue." Lexikon der Weltliteratur Band I. Gero von Wilpert ed. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1988) 1580.

[69] An excerpt from Becher's epic poem, which celebrated the success of the Communist's first Five Year Plan, was printed in Die Kolonne 6 (1931) 70. Reactions to the poem were printed simultaneously. Eich's review is reprinted in Gesammelte Werke IV 551.

> Wer glaubt, daß nur das auf der Welt Wert habe, was als Waffe im Kampf für eine Idee gebraucht werden kann, der sei konsequenterweise ein Gegner der Kunst überhaupt und überlasse das Versschreiben denen, für die es kein Wollen ist (GW IV 551).

Poetry must remain an expression of the self's subjective impressions of its surrounding world. Eich first outlines this theory in his review of Guido Zernatto's poems,[70] which is also his criticism of the "Neue Sachlichkeit"[71] movement.

In his review of Zernatto's poems Eich criticizes both the "Neue Sachlichkeit" movement, and any attempt to read Zernatto's poems as examples of it. Eich disagrees with the fundamental belief of "Neue Sachlichkeit" writers that literature should recreate only what can be empirically observed. Eich believes that "Neue Sachlichkeit" is no more than an attempt to turn literature into news reporting. He is against such an emphasis on the empirically observed since he theorizes that the outside world is no more than "eine Summe von sprachlichen Benennungen" (GW IV 547) and the centre of reality is the ego. Emotions are real to the ego, whereas the outside world only appears so, since it must be created by the mind (Richardson 24). Thus, the "Neue Sachlichkeit" principle of writing only about that which can be observed, denies the origin of poetry. For Eich, the genesis of the poem cannot be the observed object on its own, rather it must be the observing individual's emotions about the object which he sees:

> Es ist nicht das Natürlichere, sich auf die sichtbaren Dinge zu beschränken, es ist gewollt. Der nächstliegende Ausgangspunkt ist das individuelle Lust- und Unlustgefühl, die Dinge der Außenwelt bleiben solange gleichgültig, wie sie nicht an das individuelle Sein stoßen und Gefühle der Abwehr oder des Willkommens erzeugen. Nur aus solcher Spannung entstehen Gedichte und ebensowenig wie es welche gibt, die nur Innen sind, ebensowenig kann das reine Außen vom

---

[70] Review in Die Kolonne. Reprinted in Gesammelte Werke IV 547. Guido Zernatto was a young Austrian writer associated with "Die Kolonne."

[71] The following definition of *Neue Sachlichkeit* is given by Otto F. Best : "[Eine] Gegenbewegung zu subjektivgefühlsbezogenem Pathos und utopisch idealistische Geistbetonung des Expressionismus. [...] Hinwendung zur 'Objektiven' Wirklichkeit, zu Tatsache und dinglich Gegebenem," Handbuch literarischer Fachbegriffe (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1986) 342.

> Menschen neu gestaltet werden, es gestaltet sich nur selbst und wir fassen es nur durch das Medium unseres Ichs (GW IV 547).

The writer cannot express his responses to his environment if he forces himself to write either objective observation or political propaganda. Eich expands on this argument in his commentary "Bemerkungen über Lyrik. Eine Antwort auf Bernhard Diebold."[72]

Eich's "most definitive prewar essay on poetic theory" (Richardson 25) is a response to Bernhard Diebold's article "An die jungen Lyriker."[73] Diebold attacks young writers for living in the past and for using archaic language and outdated romantic images when they should be confronting current issues with modern language:

> Aber die meisten der heute dichtenden Jüngsten erleben wie vor hundert Jahren. [...] immer noch geht der Mond auch für die meisten Jüngsten noch 'stille durch die Abendwolken' hin, während er - aus dem Fenster des Eisenbahnzuges gesehen, da wir schon keine 'Wanderer' mehr sind -schon längst in rasendem Lauf um die Erde rotiert, oder als magisches Gesicht zwischen den Leitungsdrähten der Großstadtstraße an ein Universum mahnt, das eine noch viel größere Maschine ist als das städtische Elektrizitätswerk von Tübingen. Kinder, da lebt ihr mit ländlicher Unschuldsseele in den Großstädten - und selbst Aschaffenburg ist technisierte Großstadt, ja![74]

Eich criticizes what he sees as Diebold's basic failure in perceiving poetry, namely that he uses concepts from the world of technology which have nothing to do with poetry. Diebold fails to see that poems are like natural phenomena, to be used in the process of creating experience and concepts, instead of mirroring them. Diebold argues that poetry must capture the essence of the times, and this cannot be done in the modern day if the poet uses the language of Goethe and the images of Hölderlin. Eich counters this argument by posing the question "Was ist das Wesentliche einer Zeit?" He answers his question thus:

---

[72] Die Kolonne 1,2 (1932) no pages. Reprinted in Gesammelte Werke IV 458-461.

[73] Diebold was an editor and critic with the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. An excerpt of his essay is reprinted in Die Kolonne 1,2 (1932) titlepage.

[74] Die Kolonne 1,2 (1932) titlepage.

> Doch wohl nicht ihre äußeren Erscheinungsformen, Flugzeug und Dynamo, sondern die Veränderung, die der Mensch durch sie erfährt. Wer von uns aber weiß schon heute, wohin wir uns verändern; wer erkennt schon heute, in welchem Gedanken, in welchen Dingen sich unsere Zeit am deutlichsten ausdrückt? (GW IV 458)

Eich contends that it is impossible to know for a fact what the essence of the times is, "denn wir wissen gar nicht, welche Denk- oder Lebenssysteme unsere Zeit universal repräsentieren, wir wissen nur, daß das jede Richtung und jede Bewegung von sich behauptet" (GW IV 458). Eich believes that a decision to represent the current reality in poetry can only mean a decision to represent a fragment of time, such as a belief in a political system:

> Eine Entscheidung für die Zeit, d.h. also für eine Teilerscheinung der Zeit, interessiert den Lyriker als Lyriker überhaupt nicht. (Was nicht ausschließt, daß er als Privatmann sich z.B. zu einer politischen Partei bekennt.) (GW IV 459).

Here Eich states his opinion that a poet can take a political stand, but not in his work, and he gives his reasons as follows:

> Der Lyriker entscheidet sich für nichts, ihn interessiert nur sein Ich [...], ihn existiert nur das gemeinschaftslose vereinzelte Ich. Und gerade weil er sich für nichts entscheidet, fängt er die Zeit als ganzes in sich auf und läßt sie im ungetrübten Spiegel seines Ichs wieder sichtbar werden. Denn die Wandlungen des Ichs sind das Wesentliche einer Zeit (GW IV 459).

Eich maintains that the poet, in order to reflect the significant aspects of the current era, must write about his subjective reactions to his environment. Telephone cables and airplanes are not his necessary subject matter, but rather his reactions to them. If the poet writes only of physical manifestations of human activity, then he will be unable to grasp the universality of the human experience. Eich maintains that the use of "old" vocabulary is necessary in order to write effectively about the individual's perception of reality:

> der Lyriker *muß* "alte" Vokabeln gebrauchen, die, selbst problemlos geworden, ihre neue Bedeutung erst durch das Ich gewinnen. An Vokabeln wie "Dynamo" oder "Telefonkabel" hängen soviele zeitlich bedingte Assoziationen, daß sie die reine Ichproblematik des Gedichtes durch ihre eigene Problematik zumeist verfälschen (GW IV 459).

As in his review of Zernatto's poems, Eich here again argues for a poetry which portrays the transformations of the self and not of the outside world.

Eich maintains that a poet cannot speak for the masses in his work, nor can he use it to polemisize or convince, "Gedichte haben keinen beabsichtigten Nutzwert" (GW IV 460), for if they had a purpose they would not be spontaneous and uncontrived. Eich illustrates this final point with the following metaphor:

> Man kann vom Regen sagen, er fördere das Wachstum der Pflanzen, aber niemandem wird es einfallen, deswegen zu behaupten, das sei die Absicht des Regens. Die Größe der Lyrik und aller Kunst aber ist es, daß sie, obwohl von Menschen geschaffen, die Absichtslosigkeit eines Naturphänomens hat (GW IV 460).

How Eich applied his poetology can be observed with an analysis of some of his early poems, beginning with "Herumtrabend mit hungrigen Wolfsschritten um deine verlassene Hütte" and "Deine Tage gehen falsch."[75] These two poems deal with a predominant theme of Eich's early work: the alienation of humankind from nature and one which will remain important throughout Eich's career. The first poem also exemplifies another dominant theme in Eich's work, that of the self's frustration with the passing of time that seperates him from the realm of nature.

"Herumtrabend mit hungrigen Wolfschritten um deine verlassene Hütte," the first part of the verse trilogy "Verse an vielen Abenden," displays the pathos characteristic of the young Eich:

> O ich bin von der Zeit angefressen und bin in gleicher
> Langeweile vom zehnten bis zum achtzigsten Jahre.
> Erst ist schön der Leib, Gesicht und Hände,
> aber allmählich schmilzt das Fleisch
> und die Knochen sind nur von Haut überzogen (GW I 9).

---

[75] Both of these poems are part of the verse trilogy "Verse an vielen Abenden" first published in 1927.

In 1978 Heinrich Georg Briner observed that in these lines, as in most of Eich's early poetry, there is an inordinate amount of "pubertärer Weltschmerz."[76] The lyrical self sees the process of human aging as one of decay and he seeks solace in nature:

> Dann geh ich vielleicht über den papiernen Waldboden, wenn
> die Lichter angezündet sind in den Bergwerken der Sterne.
> Oder man kann seine Sehnsüchte an die Flügel der Wolken
> hängen (GW I 9),

As his mixed metaphors indicate, ("paprious forest floor," and "mines of the stars") Eich can only bring an appearance of comfort to the natural environment if he compares it to, or gives it the characteristics of the human environment. Eich's reliance upon anthropomorphism indicates a wish to bridge the gap between humanity and nature.

The desire to return to a "natural," presentient state becomes a major theme in the second part of "Verse an vielen Abenden." The first verse, "Deine Tage gehen falsch / deine Nächte stehn voll öder Sterne" (GW I 9), is a statement which indicates the isolation of the individual from the natural realm, a condition which was not always the norm. The following verse describes a previous state of being, one in which the self was united with nature:

> einmal hattest du die Füße eines Baumes
> und du warst im Hafen der Erde verankert (GW I 9).

The verse which follows commands the lyrical self to return to this presentient existence:

> Du mußt wieder dorthin zurückkehren,
> den alten Regen trinken und Blätter gebären.
> Deine Schritte sind zu hastig,
> deine Worte, dein Gesicht macht dich gemein.
> Du mußt wieder stumm werden, unbeschwert,
> eine Mücke, ein Windstoß, eine Lilie sein (GW I 10).

---

[76] Heinrich Georg Briner, Naturmystik, Biologischer Pessimismus, Ketzertum. Günter Eichs Werk im Spannungsfeld der Theodizee. (Bonn: Bouvier, 1978) 11.

These lines are typical of Eich's work from this period, a rather conservative type of nature poetry. In his 1989 study of the continuity of Eich's concept of reality between his pre and post war periods, Michael Oppermann takes this verse as the starting point for the following observation:

> In Eichs lyrischer Produktion verbindet sich eine sehr konservative Naturpoesie auf der Linie Loerkes und Lehmanns mit einer deutlich zivilisationsfeindlichen Attitüde, die Gottfried Benn verpflichtet scheint. Das Ich träumt von einer lyrischen Osmose mit der Natur und beschwört eine verlorene Einheitserfahrung.[77]

The dream of a "lyrical osmosis" with nature is denied by civilization, hence the "Zivilisationsfeindlichkeit."

As evidenced in the preceding two poems, Eich deals exclusively with the "inner life" of the self. There is no mention of modern objects, there are no planes flying through the clouds, no telephone lines in the forest. The words "Baum," "Regen," "Stern," "Wolke" and "Wind" are used repeatedly by Eich in all poems of his early period. These are the "timeless" words which Eich wrote of as necessary in order to express the reactions of the self to his environment. This vocabulary is connected to Eich's favourite image of the lonely individual attempting to commune with nature, as evidenced in the poem "Ich lebe fast ohne Schmerzen":

> Ich denke an nichts.
> Ich gehe ohne Schmerzen
> in eine Landschaft, wo vielleicht
> die Bäume nur Schatten sind von entfernten Wäldern
> ...
> Eine Wiese fällt mir ein, die meine Geliebte ist,
> ein Wind fällt mir ein, der vor Jahren wehte (GW I 190).

---

[77] Michael Oppermann, "Bemerkungen zur Kontinuität der inneren Wirklichkeit im Vor- und Nachkriegswerk Günter Eichs," Wirkendes Wort 2 (1989) 253. Oskar Loerke (1884-1938), late Expressionist whose works formed a bridge between Expressionism and the "Naturmystik" poetry of Eich's generation. Wilhelm Lehmann (1882-1968), a contemporary of Eich and also a "Naturmystik" poet. Gottfried Benn (1886-1956), one of the most influential Expressionists. His works are marked by profound anti-civilization, anti-rational and nihilistic tendencies.

This idea of "Naturverbundenheit" is expressed even more intensely in "Schritte gehn in irgendeiner Dunkelheit" where the lyrical self melds with his natural environment:

> O berühre du
> meine Stirn und mein Haar, daß ich
> müde werde und hinfalle, gebeugt wie Gras,
> dem Winde hingeneigt und daß
> Tau an meinen verdorrten Armen hängt,
> daß ich stumm werde und wie
> ein Strauch verwandelt bin mit den Jahreszeiten (GW I 191).

This poem also illustrates the antirational tendency mentioned by Greiner and Oppermann. The lyrical self becomes a part of nature and ceases to be an individuated being.

This tendency contributed to a smooth transition in Eich's work from 1933 into the Third Reich era, and his choice of words, imagery and theme remained essentially the same. An excellent example of this continuation can be found in his almost embarrassing poem "Wind über der Stadt" published in 1935:

> Wenn ich jetzt im Walde wäre,
> rauschten Kiefer oder Buche.
> Steinpilz wächst und Heidelbeere,
> die ich gerne suche.
>
> Dieser Wind trägt mich nicht hin,
> doch Gedanken haben Flügel,
> und wo ich auf einmal bin,
> gibt es Strauch und Baum und Hügel.[78]

The image of the isolated individual, the words "Wind" and "Baum" are all familiar. The anthropomorphism "Gedanken haben Flügel" is also characteristic of Eich's earliest work.

The drive to meld with nature is most notable in the radio play Schritte zu Andreas written in 1935. The familiar "Naturmystik" vocabulary is used to describe a man's fusion with the natural environment as he dies: "Die Bäume gebären wieder, die Säfte schießen in die Adern der Stämme, laut pocht den Ästen das Herz. Oh, ich fühle wie die Wurzeln mich greifen, ich fühle mich rinnen ins Holz" (GW II 112). This type of antirational "Naturmystik" was very close to National Socialist propaganda especially the 1937 Christmas episode of the Deutscher Kalender series. The connections between Eich's "Naturmystik" poetry and his Third Reich work will be explored in detail later.

---

[78] Gesammelte Werke 196. This poem will be discussed in greater detail in chapter nine.

In this respect it is my aim in the next three chapters to show that the poetics, themes and vocabulary evident in Eich's early period adapted smoothly to his writing for the National Socialist broadcast system. A brief analysis and comparison of the radio play Schritte zu Andreas and the short story "Die Schattenschlacht" will demonstrate the progression of Eich's works from "Naturmystik" to literature which is closely connected with the "Blut-und-Boden" tradition.

Facts will show that Eich willingly decided to become involved with the Nazis by working in a broadcast system under their complete control by September of 1933. I also intend to demonstrate, with excerpts from his letters,[79] an analysis of the 1937 episode of Deutscher Kalender, and a brief discussion of the speculation surrounding the radio play Rebellion in der Goldstadt,[80] how Eich conformed to directives from the Ministry of Propaganda when he was writing his radio texts.

There are texts, however, that indicate an attempt at self-criticism. Radium will be my example in this case. This radio play includes the character of a disillusioned poet who has turned to commercially lucrative propaganda writing in order to make a living. A number of critics have drawn a parallel between the character of Chabanais and the Third Reich writer Eich.[81] While avoiding a biographical interpretation, I will examine that link to see if such a connection is justified and also to examine any possible indications that Chabanais represents a possible change in Eich's view of the writer's role in society.

---

[79] These excerpts will be taken from Vieregg.

[80] A recording of this radio play has recently been found in Prague. Up until 1993 the radio play was thought destroyed.

[81] Cuomo, Post, Richardson, Schafroth, Vieregg.

4. SCHRITTE ZU ANDREAS AND "DIE SCHATTENSCHLACHT."

The radio play Schritte zu Andreas was written in 1935 and first broadcast on february 5th of that year. The woodcutter Andreas is trapped under a felled tree. He knows that he will die of his injuries and telepathically calls to his wife Kathrin to save him. A race between Kathrin and death begins.

The voices of Andreas and Kathrin alternate throughout the radio play. Andreas calls to Kathrin, begging her to save him. Kathrin hears Andreas' voice, but at first she believes his voice to be a dream, and then the wind. As if sleepwalking, Kathrin leaves her house and goes out into the dark to make the two hour journey to Andreas. Kathrin is afraid of the dark -- and something else hiding in it. Her monologue is marked by her fear of the dark and of this "stranger."

Andreas continues to call to Kathrin, leading her to him. His fear of dying becomes stronger as he feels the blood leaving his body. He feels each second like a drop of water on his forehead as time slowly slips away from him. He thinks he hears Kathrin's footsteps, but suddenly different - louder - steps can be heard alongside hers. Andreas and Kathrin both realize that these steps belong to death. Andreas resigns himself to death, but Kathrin fights him. She tells death that he cannot win, her love for Andreas is too strong. She insists that something so deeply loved cannot simply be taken away. But Kathrin cannot keep up with death, and he reaches Andreas first.

When discussing Schritte zu Andreas in his 1976 biography of Eich, Heinz P. Schafroth, in connection with Eich's earlier works notes:

> Dieses Hörspiel [...] ist von Motiv (Sterben als Verschmelzen mit der Natur) und Sprache (mit ihren volkstümlichen Elementen) her das einzige, das Motive und Sprache der gleichzeitigen Lyrik ungebrochen aufnimmt (Schafroth 24).

In other words, literary language and motifs in this radio play are comparable to that of his early poetry. For example, the images "Baum," "Regen," "Wind," "Wolken," "Nacht," "Dunkelheit," "Finsternis," "Mond," "Stern" etc., which frequently occur in his poetry in a central position are also prominent concepts in the radio play. They were used to create the familiar atmosphere of a mystical natural realm that is central in his poetry.

Furthermore, the anthropomorphisms so common to Eich's earlier work are again present in this radio play, for example "Rechts der Apfelbaum, wo der Wind drin knarrt spielt seine Orgel drin" [sic] (GW II 106), "Die Nacht hat mir die Augen mit ihrem Pech verklebt" (GW II 106), "Das ist derselbe Wind, der hier oben weht, hab' ihn ausgeschickt, daß er dich ruft, Kathrin" (GW II 106), "Der Wald braust, der Wald schreit" (GW II 110), "da redet der Wald" (GW II 110), "jetzt haust der Herbst allein im Wald ohne mich" (GW II 110), "als nähme der Wind mich in den Arm, als braust er durch die Hütte und trüg mich zu den Bäumen" (GW II 112) etc.

The theme of the painful passage of time as indicative of the temporality of human existence, found in the early poem of 1927 "Verse an vielen Abenden" (see pages 32 to 34 above) for instance, is also present in this radio play. I am referring, for example, to Andreas when he says, "Eine Sekunde nach der anderen sickert aus der Finsternis, tropft mir auf die Stirn, in die Gedanken" (GW II 107), and again when he laments, "das sind die Sekunden, die an meinen Schädel klopfen" (GW II 107).

The conclusion of the radio play contains the crucial death scene. In a style reminiscent of the stream of consciousness, Eich describes Andreas' death as an almost erotic union with nature:

> Das Herz des Baumes pocht laut, und er und ich sind eins, der Wind schaukelt mich, daß ich Armgezweig und Blatthaar bewegen muß, Regen fällt in dicken Tropfen und die Poren meiner Blätter saugen ihn ein und die Erde saugt ihn ein, und ich trinke ihn aus der Erde (GW II 112).

As in the poem "Deine Tage gehen falsch" the individual here too surrenders his humanity to nature and regresses into a presentient existence when man becomes nature instead of nature being perceived as human. This final scene portrays a mystical, irrational bond between man and the earth. In the short story "Die Schattenschlacht"[82] a similiar relationship can be observed.

Several elements of Schritte zu Andreas also confront the reader in "Die Schattenschlacht," a supernatural landscape, protagonists who are simple and honest country folk, and the mystical bond between man and earth. In "Die Schattenschlacht" however, these elements are combined with "Blut-und-Boden" ideology.[83]

The protagonist Martin's simple country nature changes into the unique "deutsche Wesen" propogated by "Blut-und-Boden" ideology when his bond with nature becomes a link to his national past. This happens when nature in its pure form, as displayed in Schritte zu Andreas, is supplanted by a field which, as a former place of battle, represents former Prussian military glory. Similiarily, in Schritte zu Andreas, the protagonist Andreas experiences a union with the earth in his moment of sudden revelation when at the play's conclusion he dies and literally becomes one with nature. In contrast, Martin's epiphany in "Die Schattenschlacht," in which he relives the battle of Fehrbellin, connects him to Germany's military past, thus giving the story a pronounced nationalistic theme.

"Die Schattenschlacht" revolves around a field where the battle of Fehrbellin[84] supposedly took place. Herber, a big city industrialist, and his wife are marooned in a village near the field when their car breaks down. The blacksmith Dresow will fix their car. In the meantime his wife tells the Herbers the legend surrounding the field. There is said to be treasure in the field, buried by Swedes retreating from the battle. The avaricious wife convinces her husband and Herber to dig for the treasure, despite the family tradition of leaving the field undisturbed, a tradition guarded by the blacksmith's younger brother Martin, the hero of the story.

---

[82] Originally published in Die Dame 63,24 (1936) 10, 56-61. Reprinted in Gesammelte Werke IV 276-87.

[83] See footnote 88 on page 26 of this thesis for a definition of "Blut-und-Boden" ideology/literature and its relationship to National Socialism.

[84] The battle took place on June 28th, 1645. Brandenburg troops led by Prince Friedrich Wilhelm routed the Swedish troops, led by Marshall Wrangel, who had invaded Mark Brandenburg without any declaration of war. Brockhaus. Nineteenth edition. (Mannheim: F.A. Brockhaus, 1988) Volume seven 164.

Martin is a shepard, a simple country man much like Andreas. He is described by Eich as having an "einfach[es] Herz" (GW IV 280). Because of his pure country nature Martin is able to maintain a special bond with the land. His 'simple heart' prevents him from suffering from nature alienation, a theme Eich often made the focus of his earlier poems. Martin is the type of hero preferred in "Blut-und-Boden" literature because of his innocence and simplicity. And he is a hero for Eich, since this same quality makes an intuitive link with the earth possible.

In his book Literatur unterm Hakenkreuz. Das Dritte Reich und seine Dichtung[85] Ernst Loewy discusses those virtues which determine the "deutsche Wesen und die deutsche Art" in "Blut-und-Boden" literature, namely "deutsche Unschuld [und] deutsche Einfachheit" (Loewy 143). Loewy states that "Einfalt" and "Ehrlichkeit" were used synonomously. A childlike simplicity was accredited to the Germans in "Blut-und-Boden" literature, as in Ludwig Friedrich Barthel's poem "Dies hier ist Deutschland, "Wir sind kindlicher / Als jedes Volk. So haben wir der schönsten / Gedanken und des Bluts sogar."[86] This childlike innocenece appears again in

---

[85] Ernst Loewy, Literatur unterm Hakenkreuz. Das Dritte Reich und seine Dichtung. (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967)

[86] Loewy 148-49. Originally published in Ludwig Friedrich Bartel, Tannenberg. Ruf und Requiem. (Jena: Diedrichs, 1934) 35.

Hermann Claudius's poem "Deutsche Hymne," "Seine [die deutsche] Kunst sah ehrlich mit Augen des Kindes."[87]

Cuomo states that in the character of Martin, Eich "achieves a unique synthesis of his nature symbolism and Prussian chauvinism" (Cuomo 72). Martin's mystical relationship with nature becomes sinister since the earth is now represented by the former site of war and Prussian glory. His connection to the natural realm has become a link to a Prussian military past as the following passage indicates: "Daß man bisweilen noch Kugeln und Waffen auf den Ackern fand, erregte ihn tief, und in der Einsamkeit seines Hirtendaseins dachte er oft an die vergangenen Dinge" (GW IV 280). Martin's lonely shepard "Dasein" is quite similiar to the "deutsche Wesen" in "Blut-und-Boden" literature. This "Wesen" triggers in him respect for the former battlefield. Cuomo asserts that Eich expresses what he calls Martin's "Blut-und-Boden consciousness" (Cuomo 72) quite literally in the following passage:

> Ihm schien dieser Boden noch heute durchsickert von Blut, der Wind enthielt die Seufzer der Sterbenden, und der Schweiß der pflügenden Bauern mischte sich mit dem von Kämpfern. Er war in seinen meisten Stunden so fern dem Leben der Menschen, daß er es nicht begriff, wie man einen solchen Ort betreten konnte mit dem Gedanken, Reichtum und billiges Glück daraus zu ziehen, wie es sein Bruder sich träumte (GW IV 280).

Vieregg also refers to this excerpt when he writes to Peter Horst Neumann that he is convinced by Cuomo, "daß Die Schattenschlacht [...] durchaus als 'Zugeständnis' an die Blut und Boden Ideologie gesehen werden kann: 'Ihm schien dieser Boden noch heute durchsickert von Blut.'" Both Cuomo and Vieregg see Martin's reverence for his soil and the German blood which still soaks it as too pronounced to be coincidental to the story.

Martin's veneration of the former battlefield borders on religious devotion and is connected to his ability to commune with nature:

---

[87] Loewy 149. Originally published in Hermann Claudius, Hörst du nicht den Eisenschritt? Zeitgedichte. Third edition. (Hamburg: Janssen, 1915) 7.

> War es genug, daß er Freund mit allen Schatten und allem Vergangenen war? Daß ihm unter den Hufen der Herde, zwischen den Halmen von Gras und Kraut, im Fluge der Vögel die drohenden Stimmen wuchsen, die er allein hörte, und mit denen er Zwiesprache hielt? (GW IV 280-81)

The combination of "Naturmystik," worship of nature, and "Blut-und-Boden" adoration of part of the German people of that time and their militaristic past is well illustrated here. This scene displays another point of contact between the theme of "Naturmystik" in Schritte zu Andreas and the "Blut-und-Boden" sentiment of "Die Schattenschlacht." Cuomo interprets the scene thus:

> Eich associates Martin's intuitive awareness of the battlefield's sanctity with the ability to conduct a dialog with the natural realm, as if the shepard's respect for Prussia's glory derived from nature's signs (Cuomo 72).

Furthermore, Cuomo argues that this scene demonstrates how Eich's theme of "Naturverbundenheit" coincides with "Blut-und-Boden" ideology, since Martin's instinctive understanding of the land has made him capable of intuiting the sacredness of a former Prussian battlefield:

> The idea of gaining wealth from the battlefield is foreign to the hermit-like shepherd whose "Blut-und-Boden" consciousness, which Eich expresses quite literally, instills in him the utmost reverence for the site of the historical struggle (Cuomo 72).

It should also be pointed out that this last scene even shares certain images and vocabulary with authentic "Blut-und-Boden" poems, for example one by Paul Alverdes entitled "Mutter:"

> O meine Erde! Manchmal, wenn die Sonne
> das Blut in meinen Adern gärt und ich
> der Scholle hingeschmiegter, allen Tieren
> nur ein Bruder bin, und atmend süß vertraut,
> so fühl ich plötzlich, wie von dir zu mir
> im dunklen Drange und zurück die Schwere
> und rätselhafte Woge gleichen Blutes
> uns überströmt als brausten Stimmen,

> die ich in Träumen meine Schwester hieß.[88]

The self in both works has a supernatural connection to the earth and through it, to their Germanic past.

As in Schritte zu Andreas there is a scene in "Die Schattenschlacht" which depicts a melding of man with nature. In Martin's case, he experiences an irrational, mystical epiphany as he walks across the field at night. He goes back in time to relive the battle, a battle which Eich describes in romantic and melodramatic terms:

> … der Windmonat entließ die Toten aus ihrer Haft, und der Schäfer ging mitten unter sie und war einer von ihnen. […] überall begleitete ihn der Aufruhr der Schlacht, daß ihm das Blut brausend in den Adern kreiste und sein Herz voll ward von feuriger Lust. […] Eine schwere Sicht von Nebel lag noch über dem feuchteren Grund, wo der Wind nicht hinlangte. Doch war es ihm, als stimmte in diesem Augenblick die bewegte Luft das Siegeslied an, die Standarten stiegen und wehten königlich, die Stimmen schwollen zum Chor und verhallten (GW IV 283).

Cuomo sees this passage as evidence of a patriotism unequaled in any of Eich's other works:

> Eich describes what amounts to a mystical revelation with a nationalistic fervor that is not found in any other of his extant works. Indeed the use of archaic forms ("… sein Herz voll ward von feuriger Lust") and the chorus crescendo evoke a pathos reminiscient of National Socialist choral pieces and SA poetry (Cuomo 73).

And a comparison of the epiphany passage to actual "Blut-und-Boden" poetry and prose indeed uncovers certain parallels.

Karl Bröger's "Das Vermächtnis" is an example of poetry that idealizes and mythologizes war, as does the epiphany episode from "Die Schattenschlacht":

> Alle lieben Brüder, die schon gefallen sind,
> reden aus Stein und Scholle, sprechen aus Wolke und Wind.
>
> Ihre Stimmen erfüllen mit Macht den Raum,
> ihre letzten Gedanken weben in jedem Traum.

---

[88] Die Ernte der Gegenwart, Deutsche Lyrik von heute, Will Vesper ed. Third edition. (Ebenhausen bei München: Langewiesche-Brandt, 1943) 244. Reprinted in Loewy 129.

> Wieder die Stimmen, gehalten und priesterlich:
> "Bruder am Leben, lebendiger Bruder, hörst du mich?"[89]

The unity which Martin felt with the spirit of the soldiers in the field is similiar to that expressed in this poem. In both works the ghostly voices of the dead soldiers are carried on the wind, as if they had become part of the natural environment.

This melding with the battlefield and nature common to both Eich's story and Bröger's poem is clearly expressed in the "Blut-und-Boden" essay by Ernst Jünger entitled "Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis:"

> Ein letztes noch: die Ekstase. Dieser Zustand des Heiligen, des großen Dichters und der großen Liebe ist auch dem großen Mute vergönnt. Da reißt Begeisterung die Männlichkeit so über sich hinaus, daß das Blut kochend gegen die Adern springt und glühend das Herz durchschäumt. Das ist ein Rauch über allen Räuchen, eine Entfesselung, die alle Bande sprengt. Es ist eine Raserei ohne Rücksicht und Grenzen, nur den Gewalten der Natur vergleichbar. Da ist der Mensch wie der brausende Sturm, das tosende Meer und der brüllende Donner. Dann ist er verschmolzen ins All [...][90]

The complete integration of man into nature which is achieved through the "Kampf als inneres Erlebnis" in this essay, is reminiscient of Andreas' death scene from Schritte zu Andreas. The state of ecstasy that Martin felt in the battlefield is also similiar to the one described here ("Blut brausend in den Adern kreiste," "sein Herz voll ward von feuriger Lust"). Thus, Martin's epiphany combines the mystical nature experience of Andreas' with the battle as inner experience portrayed in Jünger's essay. This is how Eich's theme of "Naturverbundenheit" is combined with "Blut-und-Boden" ideology.

Cuomo summarizes those elements present in this story which he believes coincide with National Socialist tendencies in literature, namely an "irrational appeal and nationalistic thrust

---

[89] Karl Bröger, Sturz und Erhebung. Gesamtausgabe der Gedichte. (Jena: Diedrichs, 1943) 48. Reprinted in Loewy 198.

[90] Originally published in Ernst Jünger, Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einen großen Schlacht. Fourth edition. (Berlin: Frundsberg Verlag, 1929) 60. reprinted in Loewy 191.

[and] a necessary didactic function" (Cuomo 74). The irrational appeal is found in the mystical portrayal of Martin's connection to the field and its history. The nationalistic thrust is evident in Martin's veneration of Prussia's military past, most noticable when he returns the saber grip to its rightful resting place where it will lie in "ehrfurchtgebietender Würde" (GW IV 286). The didactic function is fulfilled when, at the story's conclusion, Herber the city industrialist is converted to Martin's reverence for the battlefield and worship of past military sacrifices. Cuomo sees this conversion as an "ideological indoctrination" (Cuomo 74).

The ideology of which Cuomo speaks is evident in the story's conclusion in which Herber reflects upon what he has learned from Martin and the field: "Dennoch sollte mehr von diesen Stunden bleiben als nur rückgewandte Erinnerung: Ein lebendiges Gedenken, heimlich nachwirkend in die zukünftige Zeit" (GW IV 286). Cuomo sees this message as a blatantly patriotic one, and one which makes the story compatible with National Socialist ideology:

> As if the story's exaggerated piety towards dead military heroes was not enough, the narrator also emphasizes the relevance of Prussia's historic triumph for the future, thus placing the work in total conformity with nationalistic tendencies (Cuomo 73).

Vieregg is even more explicit when he maintains that the "future" spoken of in the story refers to "der NS-Gegenwart" of Eich's time.[91]

Cuomo is adament in his condemnation of Eich's story as writing equivalent to National Socialist propaganda:

> There is not a hint of irony in this serious tone nor any other sign that Eich sought to distance himself from the story's profoundly patriotic message. On the contrary, it is noteworthy how in virtually every respect this story fulfills the criteria by which National Socialist literary histories evaluated contemporary writing (Cuomo 73).

---

[91] Vieregg. Personal letter to Peter Horst Neumann.

Cuomo further suggests that this story is indicative of a possible trend in Eich's work: "If his theme of nature alienation could coalesce with the obvious tenets of the Blut-und-Boden cult in this story, it probably did elsewhere too" (Cuomo 73). An examination of the 1937 Christmas episode of the Deutscher Kalender series will support Cuomo's claim.

But first I will discuss Eich's position in the National Socialist broadcast system, in order to make it clear that he knowingly wrote the Deutscher Kalender series according to National Socialist Party standards for literature.

5. EICH'S POSITION IN THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST BROADCAST SYSTEM.

Compared with all other phases of his career, Eich was quantitatively most productive during the time of the Third Reich. He was involved in the writing of approximately one hundred and sixty radio texts.[92] He also wrote his longest and most successful prose text, Katharina. Originally published in 1935 in a literary journal,[93] Katharina was released as a book in 1936,[94] and rereleased in 1942 as a "Feldpostausgabe," a paperback edition for soldiers at the front. The book went through three editions, and by 1945 it had sold 32,000 copies.[95] Contrary to the belief commonly held until the late seventies, Eich did not stop writing poetry in the Third Reich.[96] Eich wrote a total of fifty-eight poems between 1933 and 1945, thirty-three of which were published during the Third Reich, and the other twenty-five were part of his radio texts.[97]

1933 was perhaps the most decisive year for Eich's career as a radio text writer. The fact that Eich's rise to success coincides with the beginning of the Hitler regime cannot be disputed. This coincidence has been interpreted negatively by Cuomo as an indication that Eich was a "passive collaborator" (Cuomo 78) with the National Socialist regime, choosing to compromise his artistic and moral integrity in order to further his career (Cuomo 118). Vieregg also sees

---

[92] Cuomo estimates 160, while Schäfer puts the number at about 150.

[93] Das Innere Reich (November, 1935) 935-80.

[94] Leipzig: Paul List, 1936.

[95] Deutsches Bücherverzeichnis XXIII (1941-1950) 1034.

[96] Müller-Hanpft Lyrik und Rezeption 31. Schafroth states that Eich wrote only ten poems during the Nazi regime. As late as 1982 Richardson claims that while Eich wrote a few poems he did not publish any. Egbert Krispyn contends that Eich wrote no poetry whatsoever. Günter Eich (New York: Twayne, 1968) 41.

[97] Cuomo 119. These are the poems which can be proven to exist. The possibility that more were contained within the destroyed radio texts cannot be discounted.

Eich's involvement with the regime as "bewußtes Optieren" (Vieregg 21). When discussing this issue, however, my only concern will be the question as to whether or not Eich consciously knew that his radio plays were in fact work for and in line with the Ministry of Propaganda, when he became involved with the National Socialist broadcast system.

Hitler was appointed Chancellor on January 30th, 1933. In the March 5th *Reichstag* elections the Nazi party received 44% of the vote and after building a coalition with the *Deutsche Nationale Partei* the two parties constituted a majority. On March 23rd Hitler was granted dictatorial powers under the infamous *Ermächtigungsgesetz* (Enabling Act).[98] That March was also the month in which Hitler appointed Josef Goebbels as Minister of Propaganda.[99] Within three weeks Goebbels had removed all undesirables from the *Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft (RRG)* and replaced them with party members.[100] In April all radio stations in Germany were combined into one broadcast company, the *Deutschlandsender*. Independent broadcasters were no longer accepted. Furthermore, on April 8th Section III of the Ministry of Propaganda was created, with the mandate to supervise and control all broadcasting. On June 30th Goebbels issued his directive of specific Ministry of Propaganda tasks and policies. Five days before, in a June 25th speech, he had already outlined functions and obligations of the radio under the National Socialist regime, leaving no doubt as to the purpose of radio in the Third Reich:

> Wir machen gar keinen Hehl daraus: Der Rundfunk gehört uns, niemandem sonst! Und den Rundfunk werden wir in den Dienst unserer Idee stellen, und [der

---

[98] This law allowed for dictatorial rule in a state of emergency for no longer than four years. When the term expired in 1937 Hitler simply renewed it.

[99] The Ministry's full name was *Ministerium für Propaganda und Volksaufklärung*.

[100] This outline of events is provided by Cuomo on pages 47 to 48. A detailed account of how the National Socialists took control of the German broadcast system is available in Nazism 1919-1945. Volume 2. State, Economy and Society 1933-1939. A Documentary Reader. J. Noakes, G. Pridham, eds. Exeter Studies in History No. 8. (Exeter: U. of Exeter, 1984) 397-98.

> Redner klopft auf das Pult] keine andere Idee soll hier zu Worte kommen.[...] Der Rundfunk hat sich der Zielsetzung, die sich die Regierung der nationalen Revolution gestellt hat, ein- und unterzuordnen! Die Weisungen dazu gibt die Regierung! [...] Ich halte den Rundfunk für das allermodernste und für das allerwichtigste Massenbeeinflussungsinstrument, das es überhaupt gibt.[101]

In the same speech, Goebbels responded to the 44% of the vote which the National Socialists had received in the March 5th election. Goebbels maintained that the impact of radio propaganda should get the other 56% of eligible voters for the party. As he states:

> Der Rundfunk muß uns diese hundert Prozent [der Volksstimmen] zusammentrommeln. Und *haben* [sic] wir sie einmal, muß der Rundfunk uns diese hundert Prozent *halten* [sic], muß sie verteidigen, muß sie so innerlich durchtränken mit dem geistigen Inhalt unserer Zeit, daß überhaupt niemand mehr ausbrechen kann (Goebbels 93).

This is the functional frame into which Eich would have to fit any work written for the radio Making sure it was propagandistic and ideologically correct.

By September the National Socialists had taken complete control of the broadcast system. The *Reichsrundfunkkammer* was established within the *Reichskulturkammer* which was subordinate to the Ministry of Propaganda and was managed by the *Reichssendeleitung* (central management) under Eugen Hadamovsky.[102] With this new structure Goebbels had direct control of the broadcast system. The legislative mechinations of the National Socialists indicate how important the radio was for their propaganda purposes and how little they underestimated its influence.

As stated, control of the German broadcast system was already in National Socialist hands as early as April 8th 1933. On April 24th Gottfried Benn went on the air with his infamous speech "Der neue Staat und die Intellektuellen," urging intellectuals to give up their individual ambition and near-sightedness in order to better serve the state. On that same day Eich wrote to

---

[101] Joseph Goebbels, Reden. Band 1: 1932-1939. Ed. Helmut Heiber. (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971) 87, 89, 91.

[102] Hadamovsky also wrote Radio as a Means of Political Leadership in 1933.

Martin Raschke about the importance of the state run radio system, "jetzt wird der Deutschlandsender immer wichtiger" (Vieregg 19). Eich suggested to Raschke that they continue their "Feldzug gegen den Rundfunk," meaning that they must continue to pursue contracts for radio play writing. In this connection, on April 25th Eich went to the *Deutschlandsender* and offered his services as a writer (Vieregg 19). He spoke with Gerd Fricke, the *Oberspielleiter* and a National Socialist Party and SA member since 1932,[103] and with Ottoheinz Jahn, also an SA member. The meeting appears to have gone rather well, since Eich wrote the next day to A. Arthur Kuhnert,[104] in what Vieregg calls a "self-ironic" tone: "Wenn all die Aussichten, die ich jetzt habe, sich realisieren, kaufe ich mir im Sommer einen Mercedes" (Vieregg 19). In the same letter he also writes: "Der Deutschland-sender [sic] ist von unheimlicher Liebenswürdigkeit. Herr Jahn empfing mich, als hätte er seit Monaten auf mich gewartet. Ich verstehe das Ganze nicht." Both Fricke and Jahn carried out Goebbels' directives in daily programming. According to Eich's letters, it would be Jahn who gave him instructions for proper form, themes and content of his radio texts. Five days after this meeting at the *Deutschlandsender*, Eich applied for a Nazi party membership.

Eich was assigned the membership number 2634901 according to the orange cards in the National Socialist Party master file, still intact at the Berlin Document Centre.[105] Yet Eich's induction into the party was never carried out however. The membership number was crossed out and the remarks "Aufn nicht ausg Schein zck" dated February 10, 1934, and "bl K vern"[106] are also found on the same card. There is also another handwritten note referring to a letter of November 10, 1933, from Berlin that may be a possible explanation for the cancellation of Eich's membership. The exact contents of that letter and its author remain unknown. Since every membership application was subject to a background search before the applicant was accepted, it would seem reasonable to assume that this check may have turned up some unfavourable information on Eich. However, as Cuomo points out, if Eich had been a political undesirable, he would not have been allowed to work in the strictly controlled radio broadcast industry (Cuomo 21). Cuomo also suggests that perhaps Eich himself had been involved in the termination of the application (Cuomo 21).

---

[103] SA is an abbreviation for "Sturmabteilung," a uniformed and armed troop belonging to the National Socialist Party. In Brockhaus the SA is defined as a "schlagskräftige Hilfstruppe" for Hitler's propaganda campaigns, one which was the "wichtigtes Terrorinstrument" of the Hitler regime during the 1933 seizure of power. Brockhaus. Nineteenth edition. (F.A. Brockhaus: Mannheim, 1988) Volume 19. 13.

[104] A. Arthur Kuhnert was a writer and a former member of the "Die Kolonne" group, as well as a close friend of Eich.

[105] This source is the one used by both Coumo and Vieregg.

Finally, on July 18th, 1933, Eich applied for membership in the *Reichsverband Deutscher Schriftsteller*. During the process he signed an oath that reads:

> Ich erkläre nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen die vorstehenden Angaben gemacht zu haben und werde mich jederzeit für das deutsche Schrifttum im Sinne der nationalen Regierung einsetzen (Vieregg 20).

Without membership in this organization Eich would not have been able to publish any work in the National Socialist regime.[107] Besides, the oath was standard and every applicant had to sign it. While this oath does not necessarily mean that Eich was ideologically committed to the "deutsche Schrifttum im Sinne der nationalen Regierung," it does show that Eich knew what the ideological intentions and policies of the new regime were, and what that regime expected of him.

---

[106] Cuomo decodes the stamps as follows: "Aufnahme nicht ausgeführt Schein zurück" and "blaue Karte vernichtet."

[107] A law enacted by Goebbels on September 22nd, 1933 made it necessary for all artists to belong to the chamber of the "Reichskulturkammer" parallel to their occupation. "The law conferred on Goebbels the power of professional life and death over all such persons, a power of which he made full use to exclude those writers, musicians, actors, artists etc. who were racially or ideologically objectionable." Noakes, Pridham 398.

Another interesting point about this application form can be found in the references which Eich gives: Dr. Eberhard Meckel and Dr. Gottfried Benn. Eich entered their names under the heading "zwei Bürger, die erschöpfende Auskunft geben können" (Vieregg 21). The fact that Benn's name appears on the application as someone who could give "exhaustive" information about Eich is puzzling, since he met Benn only once. This meeting probably took place sometime before July 18th. It is important to note that Eich did not distance himself from Benn who had publicly announced his support of the National Socialist regime in his radio speech of April 24th.[108]

All of these facts seem to indicate that Eich consciously chose to become involved in a radio broadcast system strictly controlled by the Hitler regime and under the direct control of its Ministry of Propaganda.

---

[108] This speech is referred to on page 50 of this thesis. Peter Neumann claims that Eich would not have maintained relations with Benn after the April 24th speech, Die Rettung der Poesie im Unsinn.

6. THE DEUTSCHER KALENDER RADIO SERIES.

The Deutscher Kalender radio plays combine Eich's themes of nature alienation and his "Naturmystik" style with anti-American sentiments. They contain a nostalgic tribute to country life and an embarrassing glorification of the German people. It is intentional and not coincidental that Eich and co-author Martin Raschke adhered to "Blut-und-Boden" ideology.

Both Cuomo and Vieregg (Cuomo 78; Vieregg 26) make reference to the fact that Deutscher Kalender was the longest running and perhaps the most successful radio series in the Third Reich. The longevity and enduring popularity were due not only to its appeal as light entertainment, but also to the fact that Eich and Raschke strictly followed the Ministry of Propaganda guidelines regarding its content. As already stated, the radio broadcast system was strictly controlled by the National Socialists.[109] And thus the party would ban broadcast of radio programs it found unsuitable.

Vieregg presents letters from Eich to Raschke which outline the directives given to him for the writing of the Deutscher Kalender series.[110] Among them were that the main character of the Landbote should not be seen sleeping or lying in bed (Vieregg 26). Such instructions show that Deutschlandsender management wanted to use the Landbote as an example of the National Socialist ideal of the hardworking German. Another letter states that management wanted to see an emphasis on "Rückkehr zur Häuslichkeit oder zur intimeren Geselligkeit als allgemeines Zeitphänomen" (Vieregg 27). This return to "Häuslichkeit" and "Innerlichkeit" was a shrewd political move, one intended first to strengthen family ties, thus shifting the audience's attention from the larger world around them, and then to act as an "Entmündigung und Entbindung des Untertanen von politischer Verantwortung" (Vieregg 27).

---

[109] See pages 52 to 54 of this thesis.

[110] These directives were issued by Ottoheinz Jahn. See page 55 of this thesis.

Detailed party directives are outlined in a 1939 letter from Eich to Raschke about an upcoming Deutscher Kalender episode in which the Landbote is to join a "Kraft durch Freude" hike. The letter refers to four points which are to be given special attention in this episode:

> 1. Der Gegensatz Stadt-Land soll durch die KdF-Wanderungen gemildert werden.
> 2. Diszipliniertes Wandern im Gegensatz zum "Horden-Wandervogel."
> 3. Gemeinschaftsbildende Kraft der KdF-Wanderbewegung.
> 4. Vielseitigkeit des Wanderns und des KdF-Wanderwartes: Heimatkunde, Naturkunde, Geschichte, Kunst, Brauchtum usw usw (Vieregg 28-29).

The goal then of this episode was to present an image of a "Volk" united through discipline and community with an emphasis on tradition and custom. These precise directions indicate that the Deutscher Kalender series was intended to be a vehicle that would deliver National Socialist ideology to the German public in an attractive and popular package. Contemporary reviews show that Eich and Raschke were successful at this task.

Deutscher Kalender's faithfulness to party standards and its affinity to "Blut-und-Boden" ideology earned it high praise in the February 23rd, 1935 edition of the Völkischer Beobachter.[111] The review is a sentimental, nostalgic and romanticized reflection on the appearance of the Landbote:

> Irgendwo im Lande haust er mit seinem Hunde, in einem kleinen idyllischen Giebelstübchen. Irgendwo, von wo aus sich ihm die Aussicht auf den unermeßlichen gestirnten Himmel auftut. Ein Freund des Bauern, der seine Erfahrungen und sein gereiftes Wissen über bäuerliches Leben und bäuerliches Brauchtum zu schäzten weiß, ist er überall dort zu finden, wo sich dörfliches Wesen in seiner Arbeit und in seinen Festen am unmittelbarsten widerspiegelt. Ein Wanderer wohl, aber heimatlich zutiefst verhaftet der Erde. Das ist die Gestalt des Landboten, dessen Abglanz der Deutschlandsender allmonatlich seinen Hörern auf dem Lande und in den Städten ausstrahlt (Vieregg 29-30).

---

[111] The Völkischer Beobachter was a National Socialist Party organ which Uwe-K. Ketelsen claims was "mit ihrem Feuillton instrumental in den Dienst der faschistischen Machtausübung." Uwe-K. Ketelsen. Völkisch - nationale und nationalsozialistische Literatur in Deutschland 1890-1945. Sammlung Metzler 142. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976) 85.

The Völkischer Beobachter goes on to proclaim "Der Königswusterhäuser Landbote hat den Weg ins Volk gefunden, er ist eine Volkstumsgestalt geworden" (Vieregg 30). Thus, the Landbote was successfully transformed from a radio voice into a living legend.

This review supports Vieregg's claim that the series was superior in its contribution to National Socialist propaganda aims: "Wie kaum eine ander Unterhaltungssendung war sie geeignet, für die Bildung einer deutschen Volksgemeinschaft zu wirken" (Vieregg 26). Vieregg sees the series as the "umfangreichendste und weitreichendste Idyllenproduktion der NS-Zeit" (Vieregg 27).

Vieregg lists the following characteristics as being indicative of all Deutscher Kalender episodes :

> 'Bäuerliches Brauchtum,' die Bindung an den 'bäurischen Boden,' der Volkstumsgedanke und das Verlogene des idyllischen Giebelstübchens, das Technik und Zivilizationsfeindlichkeit impliziert, sind die immer wiederkehrenden Versatzstücke des Königswusterhäuser Landboten (Vieregg 31).

This "rückwärtsgewandte 'Deutsche Ideologie'" (Vieregg 31) of the series is clearly evidenced in the 1937 Christmas episode, one which extols the virtues of the traditional, rural German lifestyle.

In each monthly episode of the Deutscher Kalender series the Landbote would travel to a different region of Germany in order that various uniquely German customs and traditions could be highlighted. There would also inevitably be a small domestic drama in which the Landbote would play the part of the wise intermediary.

In the 1937 Christmas episode the Landbote travels to a mining village in Niedersachsen. Although the villagers are poor, their hard work, traditions and love of their "Heimat" make their lives worthwhile, and of course admirable to the Landbote, whose function it is to seek out German industriousness and loyality to tradition.

In this episode the domestic drama is played out in the Berger and Hanke households. Thomas Hanke returns after five years in America to court Lotte Berger, hoping to take her back to America as his wife. The contrast between the traditional German villagers and the "americanized" Thomas is the focal point of this play.

My examination of this radio play concentrates on its theme, or "message," and how the characters and imagery are used to support it. Certain themes and imagery that Eich used in his earlier "Naturmystik" work are again present in this episode, thus an emphasis on these two elements will best illustrate how Eich adapted his use of them to the propagandistic aims of this episode. In terms of theme, for example, the recurring concept in his earlier poetry of a human bond with nature coincides with this episode's theme of a unique German bond to "Heimat."

In a scene where the character Thomas finally has enough of small village life and yearns again for the wide open spaces of America the Landbote gives him a lecture on the nature of happiness and the true meaning of life:

> Es gibt [...] zweierlei Menschen [...]. Solche Menschen, die unablässig ihren Traum auf der Erde verwirklicht suchen, und solche, die sich mühen, daß der Ort, an den sie vom Schicksal gestellt sind, dem schönsten Menschentraum von der Erde ähnlicher und ähnlicher wird, ganz unbekümmert darum, was ringsum sie lockt (GW II 95).

The Landbote's statement reveals the propagandistic intent of this radio play. The idyll of rural life is presented as the goal for which all Germans must strive. Listeners are led to believe that their primary concern must be to focus on the narrow sphere of the home and family life, ignoring the larger world around them.

Drawing on the Landbote's speech, Vieregg identifies the purpose of the play:

> Gehuldigt wird dem einfachen, von Volkslied, Handarbeit und geduldigem Ausharren an dem vom Schicksal zugewiesenen Platz geprägten Leben in der Volksgemeinschaft, die den einzelnen kraft Blut und Tradition einbindet, gegenüber einer westlichen Konsumgesellschaft mit ihrer wurzellosen Mobilität und ihrem selbstbezogenen Individualismus (Vieregg 35).

Such ideas were typically "Blut-und-Boden" as a brief look into a Third Reich literary history will show.

Hellmuth Langenbucher, whom Loewy describes as "einer der führenden NS-Literaturgeschichtler" (Loewy 120), wrote in 1935:

> Diejenigen Dichter, die sich um die Gestaltung bäuerlichen Lebensgefühls mühen, werden sich nie zu drücken vermögen um das eine große Thema, das hier alle literarischen Einzelgruppen beherrscht und das darum, bald stärker, bald weniger deutlich ausprägt, im Mittelpunkt all dieser Dichtungen steht: das Thema des Kampfes landschaftsgebundener, bäuerlicher Menschen gegen den Einbruch zivilitorischer Lebensmächte.[112]

This type of literature stressed the importance of a return to the land and German traditions as the only means by which the German "Volk" would find a connection to their history and their race, or "Blut." The longed-for instinctual relationship with nature that dominates in Eich's earlier poems is similiar to this "Blut-und-Boden" ideal and is realized in the Christmas episode. This relationship with the earth is forged with a reliance on German tradition, hard work and faith in old Germanic myth and beliefs, three elements common to "Blut-und-Boden" literature. Images and vocabulary familiar from Eich's earlier work are used to create scenes and prototypical characters preferred in National Socialist propaganda.

Although the series was co-authored by Martin Raschke, the introductory scenes of this episode bear a striking resemblance to Eich's Schritte zu Andreas. The mystification of nature common to Eich's early work predominates in these first scenes. For example, at the opening of the radio play the Landbote enters a mine with the miner Karl Berger and he gasps in wonder; "hier öffnet der Stein einen Mund mit weißlichen und blauen Zähnen" (GW II 74). Eich's trademark anthropomorphism is also apparent as the Landbote again waxes poetic; "Mir ist, als wüchsen der Leere Flügel und streiften mir kalt übers Gesicht" (GW II 75). The Landbote's exclamations indicate that the hardworking miner has a privileged connection with a transcendental natural realm. This identification is the first link between Eich's "Naturmystik" work and this radio play written to specific National Socialist standards for their radio system, since it is specifically a hardworking German who has entrance into a mystical natural realm.

---

[112] Originally published in Hellmuth Langenbucher, Deutsche Landschaft und Bauerntum, (Berlin: n.pub., 1935). Reprinted in Loewy 120.

The characterization of the village inhabitants is the second point of contact. The "characters" who inhabit this radio play are one-dimensional types, each embodying an aspect of National Socialist philosophy or, as is the case with the character of Thomas, a lifestyle that the party frowned upon. The juxtaposition of the prototypical German characters with the carefree, materialistic Thomas creates a situation that allows for a comparison of a National Socialist utopian Germany to a corrupt and lazy America, a comparison which Vieregg calls, "das Ausspielen einer hart und 'tapfer' machenden deutschen 'Kultur' gegen eine verweichlichende, fremde, hier vor allem amerikanische 'Zivilization'" (Vieregg 35). Thus, the theme of this episode is also an example of the "eine große Thema" that Langenbucher praised above all others, namely, that of rural Germans fighting against corrupt civilization.

There are three characters who embody the " 'tapfer machende deutsche 'Kultur' ": Frau Hanke, Thomas' mother, the miner Karl Berger, and his daughter Lotte, Thomas' love interest. Frau Hanke is a tough, hardworking woman with no time for idleness. In her first scene she repeatedly exhorts Lotte's younger sister Liesel to pay attention to her "Klöppeln" (lace making) and tells her to sing traditional songs in order to make the work go faster. Miner Berger is not an idler either. Rather than relax at home he goes straight to work repairing and improving a traditional Erzgebirge Weihnachtspyramide, first carved by his grandfather in 1840. This pyramid, along with the lace making of Frau Hanke, establishes early in this story a concrete link between the village inhabitants and German tradition.

On Berger's hard work the Landbote comments; "Mir gefällt es sehr an euch, Bergerkarl, daß ihr euch bei eurem harten Beruf so viel Herz bewahrt habt" (GW II 79). Berger's motives for this work are purely spiritual, inspired by the beauty of the land:

> Wenn man fast den ganzen Tag unten in der Erde steckt, Landbote, [...] und sieht die Steine glitzern und manchmal gar einen weißen Kristall mit so einem merkwürdigen Lichte, wie ihr ihn Heute auch gesehen habt, da wächst einem allmählich, ohne daß man etwas hinzutut, ein ganz wunderlicher Sinn. Man möchte auch etwas Schönes, etwas Reines machen (GW II 79).

In this scene our attention is again focused on the ties between the rural inhabitants and the land, and how they express themselves in traditional customs.

Lotte represents the next generation, one in which the loyalty to "Heimat" remains steadfast. In answer to Thomas's query if she would travel to America with him, she answers; "Ich glaube, ich stürbe, wenn ich nicht hier wäre" (GW II 92). Lotte refuses to be seduced by Thomas's tales of exotic fruit, sun and easy living, saying to him instead:

> Du könntest mir jeden Tag einen Strauß von den Blumen bringen, die so groß wie mein Kopf sind, - immer, immer würde ich an unsere Berge denken und würde fragen: 'Wo ist denn der Nebel? Wo ist denn der Schnee?' (GW II 92)

Thus, Lotte also embodies the "Ausharren an dem vom Schicksal zugewiesenen Platz."

With the return of the long absent son Thomas Hanke, a constellation of characters is created which enables this episode to carry its propagandistic message. Where the village inhabitants and the Landbote represent earthy wisdom and an intuitive relationship with their land, Thomas represents a shallow, materialistic, American lifestyle.

Thomas has been in America for the past five years and is now returning to his home village to find a wife. Clad in a sportsjacket and new shoes he arrives in a car from the train station, complaining of the cold. His mother, the crusty Frau Hanke, chastises him for his weakness saying; "Mir war es immer warm genug, so wie es jetzt ist" (GW II 80). Thomas wants to make up for his absence and neglect of his familial responsibilities by giving his mother money, an offer which infuriates her; "Geld! Wer will denn Geld?" (GW II 81).

Again and again Thomas's talk of a rich and beautiful America where life is easy and money plentiful is countered with Frau Hankes rural pragmatism with its emphasis on hard work and the upholding of tradition. When the young girls gathered in her home to make lace would rather listen to Thomas's tales of America, Frau Hanke reminds them of their priorities and again introduces traditional folk songs as an aid to hard work:

> Amerika, das läuft von uns nicht davon, Fräulein Erna. Aber die Zeit rennt weg. Singt, ihr Mannsbilder! Dann geht das Klöppeln besser von der Hand. Nur nicht so faul! (GW II 82)

Even food is used to contrast the two lifestyles. The modest "Erdäpfeln mit Quark" (GW II 83) of the villagers is contrasted with the oranges and pineapples of Texas, as Thomas says; "Ananas war dort gar nichts besonderes. Das ist für uns nicht mehr als für euch ein gewöhnlicher Musapfel" (GW II 83). Thomas's tales of riches are again countered by his mother and yet another folk song,"Sechs fette Küh, sechs fette Küh / muß meine Mutter haben" (GW II 83).

Vieregg interprets all of these carefully included details as representative of the philosophy of the National Socialist party:

> Hierarchie steht gegen Gleichheit, Singgebung durch Pflichterfüllung steht gegen die Sinnleere einer trügerischen Freiheit des Einzelinteresses, ertüchtigender Lebenskampf gegen verweichelndes Genießen im Zeichen von "Schaukelstuhl" und "Ananas" (Vieregg 35).

The next scene introduces Germanic myth into the radio play, making it an increasingly potent piece of "Blut-und-Boden" propaganda. The Landbote recalls an old legend:

> Ihr werdet doch sicher einmal gehört haben, daß es bei unseren Vorvorvätern einen Gott gegeben hat, der war groß und mächtig, wie es einem Götterkönig zukommt, und wurde Wotan gerufen (GW II 87).

The Landbote insists that knowledge of these Germanic myths is inherent in the German people. In answer to Berger's question as to who still believes in this old god, the Landbote says:

> Gestorben ist er darum nicht. Was so lange geglaubt wurde, das stirbt nicht so leicht wie ein Mensch. Nein, Karl Berger, das steigt bisweilen aus irgendeiner Schicht unseres Herzens empor, in der es noch nachhallte, ohne daß wir es wußten (GW II 88).

These passages are consistent with "Blut-und-Boden" ideology as outlined by Loewy:

> Um dem Deutschen die Aura des Mythischen zu verleihen, wurde es mit dem Germanischen in eins gesetzt, historisiert. Ein Zurücktauchen in die vermeintliche Kraftfülle nationaler Geschichte wurde propagiert. Das moderne Denken, soweit es sich an den aufklärerischen Ideen des neunzehntenten Jahrhunderts orientiert hatte, wurde diskrediert (Loewy 63).

A literary history from the Third Reich era emphasizes the importance of Germanic roots for the "deutsche Volk:"

> So ist das deutsche Volk der wahre Erbe des Germanentums geworden, seines nordischen Blutes, seines Artbewußtsein, seiner sittlichen und religiösen, kriegerischen und staatlichen Anlagen. So erwächst die Verpflichtung, das Deutschtum zu begreifen aus dem Bluts- und Artgrunde des Germanentums, als dessen Kernvolk es ums Jahr 800 in die Geschichte eingetreten ist.[113]

The Landbote's claim that the ancient Germanic beliefs rise from "irgendeiner Schicht unseres Herzens" is consistent with Linden's argument that what old Germanic myth propogated "lebt noch heute in deutschen Herzen" (Loewy 63).

An example of "Blut-und-Boden" literature which thematisizes this inherent knowledge of old Germanic faith is Gustav Frenssen's book Der Glaube der Nordmark.[114] Frenssen writes that his parents were "innerliche, seelische Menschen." Their faith was of a different kind than church-bound Christianity, it was instead "die niedersächische [the same region in which the Christmas episode of Deutscher Kalender takes place] staunende, anbetende, wortarme und lehrlose Verehrung der unnentbaren Macht." Frenssen maintains that being raised in this faith caused him to look toward ancient Germanic myth in his work:

---

[113] Walther Linden, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur, (Leipzig: n.pub., 1937) 12-13. Reprinted in Loewy 63.

[114] Gustav Frenssen, Der Glaube der Nordmark, Feldpostausgabe (Stuttgart-Berlin: Truckmüller, 1936). Reprinted in Loewy 76-79.

> Ich frische uralte Märchen auf. Ich murmle uralte Träume. Ich verkünde Frömmigkeit, die in Germanien tausende Jahre alt ist (Loewy 78).

The result of such a reliance upon ancient tales and dreams could quite possibly resemble the epiphany scene in the Christmas episode.

The epiphany in question is that of the Landbote. Following his speech about the nature of true happiness, the Landbote leaves Thomas and gets lost in the mist on his way to the Berger home. His dreamlike, mythical experience in the woods is portrayed in Eich's typical "Naturmystik" style:

> Ein Weg gleicht dem anderen. Nebelrosse überall, wie von Geistermännern geritten. Da jagt ein Riese über den Wald heran. Schon stürzt er. Strähnig hängt sein Haar in den Fichtenkronen. Grüne Baumschwerte schlitzen die Leiber der Pferde, daß sie im Winde ihr Schemenblut verströmen müssen. Was für eine Stunde! Wer vermag zu glauben, daß jetzt, wo ringsum alles im Triumph der Nebel versinkt, die Sonne fern im Süden uns ihr Gesicht wieder zuwendet? Und doch kehrt sie hinter den Nebelmauern um und wendet langsam die Sagenpferde, die ihren Feuerwagen durch den Himmel ziehen, wieder nach Norden, uns zu, die wir ihr freudig entgegenlauern (GW II 96).

The scene echoes the epiphany episodes of Schritte zu Andreas and "Die Schattenschlacht" in mood, imagery and vocabulary. Eich's familiar mist and trees landscape is combined with "Blut-und-Boden" images of battle, blood, swords and fire. Romantic images common in Eich's work are paired with "Blut-und-Boden" ones resulting in such combinations as "Nebelrosse" and "Baumschwerte."

The chorus which follows the Landbote's supernatural experience eliminates any doubt as to the nationalistic nature of the radio play:

> Sonnenwende Chor:
>
> Steht Pferde, steht! Der Jahrkreis ist geendet,
> des Nordlands Völker senken tief ihr Haupt
> voll Hoffnung, daß die Zeit sich endlich wendet,

> ...
>
> Du, schönes Land, in dem die Deutschen wohnen,
> mach wieder deine blauen Augen auf! (GW II 96)

With this chorus following the Landbote's mystical experience, the connection between Germany and a mythical past is cemented. Further, this chorus is also typical of a style preferred by the National Socialist Party.[115] That Germanic myth and custom play such integral roles in this Christmas episode illustrates the National Socialist secularization of a previously Christian holiday, a secularization which Stefan Bodo Würffel characterizes as:

> ... die Ausblendung jeder individuellen oder sozialen Problematik und die Überhöhung der deutschen Geschichte ins Mythische, schließlich in deutlicher Parallele zum Leidensweg Christi ins Religiöse (Würffel 65).

In the play's conclusion further evidence emerges which links it to this National Socialist philosophy.

In the end Thomas is won over by the romantic, homey village life and decides to stay rather than returning to the space and ease of America. Vieregg argues that with this decision, Thomas "erweist [...] sich dann doch als deutscher Mann und kehrt in die deutsche Volksgemeinschaft zurück" (Vieregg 34). Vieregg also makes clear that such a conclusion removes this episode from the realm of "harmless" entertainment:

> Man sieht: dies ist weit entfernt von jener anderen, vergleichsweise harmlosen Idyllik und Innerlichkeit, die man einer während der Hitler-Jahre schreibenden apolitischen "Jungen Generation," zu der man auch Eich zählen wollte, als ideologiefreien Fluchtraum zugebilligt hat. Vielmehr ist diese säkularisierte Parabel vom verlorenen Sohn, in der implicite das Deutsche Reich an die Stelle des Reiches Gottes getreten ist, ein Musterstück nationalsozialistischer Erbauungsliteratur, ganz im Sinne jenes Diktums des Reichsendeleiters Eugen

---

[115] Stefan Bodo Würffel, Das Deutsche Hörspiel. Sammlung Metzler 172. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978) 64.

> Hadamovski: 'Was das Gebäude der Kirche für die Religion, das wird der Rundfunk für den Kult des neuen Staates sein.'[116]

Indeed, in returning to Frenssen's book, it becomes clear that the specific "Blut-und-Boden" vision of "Deutschtum" that this episode advertises has as its aim the replacement of Christianity with an ancient Germanic faith as part of a larger National Socialist movement:

> Die Kirchengläubigen sagen empört: Ist die neue Bewegung denn eine Religion und der Führer der Stifter der Religion? Nein, niemals ist das die Meinung der Bewegung. Aber es ist so: weil der Führer und seine Bewegung ihr Werk aus der tiefste Tiefe der germanischen Seele holten, so erscheint, ohne ihr Zutun und ihr Wollen, hinter ihr, in ihrem Hintergrund, und deutlicher als jemals in der deutschen Geschichte, der uralte, urgermanische Glaube. Und diese Bewegung wird nicht wieder aufhören. Ja sie wird wachsen und sich ausbreiten. Denn, wie wir gezeigt haben: Der christliche Glaube ist alt und welk geworden. Die Zeit ist erfüllt [...] (Loewy 79).

The connections between the Deutscher Kalender series and "Blut-und-Boden" literature as an expression of National Socialist ideology are not tenuous. First of all, there are those concrete connections which cannot be ignored. All radio stations were under the direct control of the Ministry of Propaganda, their previous management having been purged and replaced with National Socialist Party and SA members (as discussed in chapter 4), and it was from this new management that Eich and Raschke received specific directives for the content and theme of their Deutscher Kalender series, as evidenced in Eich's letters (see page 55). And since "Blut-und-Boden" literature was an expression of National Socialist philosophy (see footnote 62 on page 25), it follows that (as Goebbels said, see pages 49-50) the National Socialist broadcast system would not allow any other type of literature to be broadcast on a radio system that it controlled and whose announced purpose was to be an instrument of propaganda for the state.

The preceding discussion of the Christmas episode of Deutscher Kalender illustrates how well Eich and Raschke conformed to National Socialist standards for literature, and how well

---

[116] Vieregg 34. The last line which Vieregg quotes is taken from Eugen Hadamovski, "Kult des neuen Staates," Rufer und Hörer 11 (1933/34) 564.

Eich adapted his "Naturmystik" to conform to those same standards. The comparison of passages from the episode to actual "Blut-und-Boden" literature reveals that it is, as Vieregg claims, a "Musterstück nationalsozialistischer Erbauungsliteratur" (Vieregg 34).

In the past, scholars have labelled the series "harmless" and "idyllic" (cf. Storck, see page 15 above). Such descriptions can be used only if the series is removed from its historical context, a choice that is suspect when dealing with works written for an organ of the National Socialist Party.

Egbert Krispyn maintains that the Deutscher Kalender series must have been considered "politically innocuous by the new masters of Germany"[117] in order for it to have been broadcast so long, and Heinz Schwitzke portrays it as a series in which the audience experiences "festliche Familien und Dorfidyllen."[118] Both views reduce the series to harmless "Kitsch," ignoring its political significance and denying that Eich had any part in National Socialist propaganda production. But the controversy surrounding the radio play Rebellion in der Goldstadt indicates more strongly that Eich wrote not only according to National Socialist standards, but specifically for one of their propaganda campaigns.

---

[117] Egbert Krispyn, Günter Eich. Twayne World Authors Series 148. (New York: Twayne, 1971) 37.

[118] Heinz Schwitzke, Günter Eich. Gesammelte Werke III. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973) 1410.

7. REBELLION IN DER GOLDSTADT.

Rebellion in der Goldstadt deals with a 1922 miner's strike at the Witwatersrand Mines outside Johannesburg which ended in a five day battle with a death toll of two-hundred.[119] Eich's radio play places the blame for this strike and the subsequent battle on the machinations of greedy English industrialists, and not on the South African government.

The play opens in a London nightclub where Lord Pembroke, his secretary Thomson, entrepeneurs Morley and an unnamed old man discuss the meagre two percent dividend of their South African gold mine. Between drinking champagne, eating steak and ogling women these men discuss how they can improve the mine's profit margin. Thomson suggests a wage cut for the miners. They all agree that the black miner's wages cannot be further reduced, so they decide on a wage rollback for the white workers. In order to make the "bittre Pille schmackhaft" the old man suggests that they first threaten to close the mine, afterward the news of a wage reduction would be welcomed by the white miners as an alternative to unemployment.

The second scene is set in Johannesburg at a later date and it is here that the miner's side of the story is introduced. Pieter, a Boer miner, has invited Mike, newly arrived from Ireland, to his home. Over the luxury of a beer, they discuss the high cost of living in Johannesburg and the rumours of the mine's closure. Pieter sees through the closure ruse, arguing that such a move would bankrupt the entire country.

The third scene introduces the final player in the triangle, the South African government in the form of Minister President Jan Smuts. Thomson has arrived to negotiate the mine's future with Smuts. Thomson cleverly manipulates Smuts into suggesting a wage cut for the white workers as the only means by which the mine can be saved.

---

[119] W.K. Hancock, Smuts: The Fields of Force 1919-1950. (Cambridge: U of Cambridge Press, 1968) 62-84.

In the following scenes the crisis in Johannesburg develops. The white miners do not fall for the wage cut scheme, seeing it as an attempt by London businessmen to increase their profits at the expense of the worker's welfare. The miners go on strike, taking over the whole city and shutting down transport and communication in the process. Tensions escalate and then culminate as Smuts calls in the army to disband the striking miners.

In the radio play Pieter and Mike are the victims of the first army air raid. Manning their guardposts atop the "Arbeiterzentrale" they are the first to hear the planes, and Mike is killed in the attack. In the course of actual historical events, however, the first mission of the army airplanes was to distribute pamphlets to Johannesburg citizens, warning them to leave the area before a heavy artillary bariage began. It brought the miner's surrender within an hour.[120]

The last two scenes of the radio play compare the consequences of the battle for the English businessmen and the white miners. Over a sumptuous breakfast in London the day after the battle Lord Pembroke gives his daughter Lilian a blank cheque for her dressmaker announcing, "schließlich habe ich in Africa eine Schlacht gewonnen, die Millionen wert ist." That same day in Johannesburg, Pieter and his wife Nelly assess their dismal circumstances. Pieter contemplates becoming a shoeshiner, Nelly a washerwoman. They list what they could pawn: a grammophone bought on credit, his watch and their wedding rings, all worth a total of three pounds. The paper arrives amid their accounting and Nelly, who has begged Pieter to return to the mines, reads the government announcement that all those miners who do not return to work by April 17th will be considered dismissed. Nelly sees the announcement as a good sign, since Pieter had thought that the "Bergwerkskammer" would not want him after his involvement in the strike. There is no time to discuss the issue, however, as Mike's widow Mary runs in warning

---

[120] F.S. Craffrod, Jan Smuts : A Biography. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1943) 195. Reprinted in Cuomo 77.

Pieter to hide. Army soldiers are pulling strike conspirators into the street and executing them. Unwilling to hide, Pieter is also taken out to the street and shot. The play ends with Nelly screaming his name over and over.

The radio play portrays the Witwatersrand strike and the subsequent battle as the result of greedy English capitalists, willing to sacrifice impoverished workers for profit. The following program preview gives the audience a National Socialist interpretation of the play:

> Unter englischen Plutokraten gilt ein Mensch nur als solcher, wenn er ein Bankkonto von sehr erheblicher Mindesthöhe in Verbindung mit politischem Einfluß aufweisen kann. Wie er dazu kam, ist gänzlich gleichgültig, und sei es auf die schmützigste Art und Weise gewesen. Hauptsache, der Erfolg ist da. Gleichgültig ist ferner auch, ob an dem Wege zu Reichtum, Macht und Einfluß die Toten zu hunderten liegen. Wer den englischen Plutokraten irgendwie im Wege steht, muß beseitigt werden. Welche furchtbaren Methoden britische Plutokraten anwendeten, um aus den südafrikanischen Goldminen noch höhere Erträge zu pressen, das schildert Günter Eich in seinem großangelegten Hörspiel, das der Deutschlandsender am Mittwoch den 8. Mai um 21 Uhr sendet.[121]

Vieregg underlines the propagandistic intention of the radio play:

> Denn durchweg geht es um die Unterdrückung und Ausbeutung einer vorwiegend irisch-burischen Unterschicht - das heißt zweier in Deutschland wegen ihrer anti-englischen Haltung mit besonderer Sympathie begleiteten Gruppen - durch eine englische Herrenklasse, die es auch noch belustigt, wenn sie ihre mörderische Gewinnsucht ethisch begründen kann.[122]

Vieregg asserts that the listener is to place him/herself in the position of the Irish and Boer miners. Vieregg argues that when Pieter, the Boer foreman, proclaims; "In der Tat, so hat England immer gehandelt, Indien, Irland, die Buren," listeners are forced to think of themselves as the next victims of British Imperialism; " 'Und nun sind die Deutschen als nächste im Visier,' soll der Hörer ergänzen und eine nach einem englischen Sieg drohende Knechtung Deutschlands durch das Empire assoziiern" (Vieregg, Die Zeit 61). Such audience manipulation would indeed place Rebellion in the category of propaganda. However, not only the theme of the Rebellion marks it as propaganda, the circumstances surrounding its creation do as well, as Vieregg maintains:

---

[121] Berlin hört und sieht 19 (May 5, 1940) 5. Quoted in Vieregg 51-52.

[122] Vieregg, "Die Historie als Widersachen der Poesie," Die Zeit (November 26, 1993) 61.

> Die Umstände des Zustandekommens und der Inhalt von Rebellion in der Goldstadt lassen wiederum keinen Zweifel mehr daran, daß Eich sich als Teil der NS-Propagandamachinerie sah und daß er als solcher von offizieller Seite sehr geschätzt wurde, sonst hätte der Parteimann Fricke nicht eigens für dieses Hörspiel Eichs Beurlaubung erwirken wollen und können (Vieregg 53).

According to Eich's letters, as cited by Vieregg, the radio play was commissioned by the Deutschlandsender with specific theme guidelines. As indicated by Vieregg, Eich was to receive a military furlough in order to write the play. The furlough was obtained by Gerd Fricke, an SA member. That such a committed National Socialist would do favours for Eich indicates that he was on good terms with the party.

The preferred themes for this radio play were proposed at a January 22nd and 23rd, 1940 conference at the Berliner Funkhaus, during which Goebbels announced his anti-English radio propaganda campaign (Cuomo 75; Vieregg 31). Although Eich was not present at this conference he did receive a list of themes from A. Arthur Kuhnert.[123] Cuomo cites other radio plays that were part of this campaign. They were announced in the February 21st, 1940 issue of Nationalsozialistische Rundfunk-Korrespondenz under the title "Englische Politik am Pranger: Neue Hörspiele aus der Zeit" (Cuomo 156). They are: Rudolf Brunngraber's Opium, which dealt with the opium wars between Great Britain and China in the years between 1839 and 1842,[124] A. Arthur Kuhnert's Erika ganz groß!, a spoof about British diplomats, soldiers and gold speculators in nineteenth century Persia,[125] and R. Kurtz's Die Greuel von Denshawai: Ein Gespräch mit Bernhard Shaw, which Cuomo calls a "strong critique of British colonial mis-administration in Egypt at the turn of the century."[126] Cuomo summarizes the common intention of these radio plays:

---

[123] Eich refers to the "schöne Liste, die ihr aufgearbeitet habt" in his March 13th, 1940 letter to Kuhnert.

[124] Broadcast December 21st, 1939. Glenn R. Cuomo, "Some new Facts about Günter Eich in the Nazi Period and the Importance of Context: A Reconstruction of his Nonextant Radio Play "Rebellion in der Goldstadt." University of Dayton Review 16,3 (1983/84) 5.

> What these radio plays have in common with Eich's "Rebellion in der Goldstadt" is that they all treat historical incidents that would be damaging to Great Britain's international prestige and could, thus, negatively affect the alliance against Hitler's Reich, especially throughout the Commonwealth. In short, these broadcasts were all part of a propaganda campaign to expose the 'evils of British Imperialism' (Cuomo, Dayton Review 5).

Cuomo also cites other sources to prove that the National Socialist Party valued the radio play genre as a powerful propaganda tool. An April 5th, 1940 report of the SS Sicherheitsdienst , for example, praises A. Arthur Kuhnert's radio play Die Mission des Dr. Mackenzie, which took as its theme England's supposed plot to hasten the death of the Crownprince Friedrich III. The report states:

> Die Äußerung ist immer wieder zu hören, solche Hörspiele öfter zu bringen, da sie einmal sehr unterhaltend und lehrreich sind, zum anderen für eine der besten Propagandawaffen gegen England gehalten werden.[127]

Equally explicit is the report published in the paper Meldungen aus dem Reich:

> Zusammenfassend ist aus allen Berichten festzustellen, daß das politisch-geschichtliche Hörspiel vor allem für die breiten Kreise der Bevölkerung ein wichtiges Aufklärungs- und Propagandamittel ist.[128]

Eich's Rebellion is grouped in with these valued radio plays in a review published in the Nationalsozialistische Rundfunk-Korrespondenz:

---

[125] Broadcast January 23rd, 1940. Cuomo, Dayton Review 5.

[126] Broadcast March 3rd, 1940. Cuomo, Dayton Review 5.

[127] Christian Hörbürger, Das Hörspiel der Weimarer Republik: Versuch einer kritischen Analyse, (Stuttgart: Akad. Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1975) 409. Reprinted in Cuomo 6.

[128] Meldungen aus dem Reich (May 16,1940). Cf. Hörbürger 416; Cuomo 6.

> Die Reihe zeitbezogener Hörspiele, die wir im Laufe der letzten Zeit hören, wird durch Eichs neues Werk wesentlich bereichert.[129]

Cuomo sees Rebellion as a "cleverly constructed propaganda piece" in which Eich achieves an "ideological adaptation" in the form of "exaggeration, fabrication and apparent omission" (Cuomo 77) when portraying the miner's strike and the events leading up to it. For Cuomo the praise accorded Rebellion in the Nationalsozialistische Rundfunk-Korrespondenz suggests that Eich "ended his career during the Third Reich in the best standing with Goebbel's propagandists" (Cuomo 77). As further proof of this "good standing," Cuomo cites a Sicherheitsdienst report from October 1940 stating that it would be difficult to revive the radio play after the war since most good writers were in film. Eich's name appears on the enclosed list of "good authors."[130] The presence of Eich's name on this list indicates that he could have continued his career within the Third Reich had it lasted.

Although Vieregg leaves no doubt as to the propagandistic intent of Rebellion, he presents an excerpt from one of Eich's letters in which he writes about the play in order to show that Eich wrote it for personal, albeit mercenary, reasons and not as a statement of ideological sympathy with the National Socialist regime. Eich even states that his chosen theme might not be approved by the Propaganda Ministry:

> Ja, es ist ein Arbeitsurlaub, [...] Fricke hat ihn erwirkt, aber es hat ein langes Hin und Her gebraucht[...]. Nun ist es der Streik der Goldminenarbeiter 1922 in Johannesburg, ein Thema, das ich mit entsetzt gerungenen Händen ablehnte, wär ich Propagandaministerium. Ich nehme auch an, das es nie gesendet wird, was zwar schade wäre wegen meiner Pleite, aber Urlaub werde ich gehabt haben, und was das bedeutet, weiß nur der, der jeden Abend um neun, bei abgedrehtem Licht im Bett liegen muß und darüber nachdenkt, was eigentlich das Dasein des Soldaten mit Heroismus zu tun hat.[131]

---

[129] February 21, 1940 edition 9.

[130] Cuomo, Dayton Review 7. Report reprinted in Hörbürger 418-19.

[131] Letter to A. Arthur Kuhnert, March 13, 1940. Reprinted in Gesammelte Werke II 796.

It should be noted that Eich had displayed no "Heroismus" up to this point, and since he had never seen active combat, he was not familiar with the "Dasein des Soldaten."

In contrast to current interpretations of Rebellion's political significance by Cuomo and Vieregg, the tendency of past scholarship has been to downplay the political implications of Rebellion. In the 1973 edition of Eich's Gesammelte Werke, Heinz Schwitzke claimed that the text was non-extant and that its contents were unknown.[132] While in fact the radio play debuted eight months after the German invasion of Poland (Cuomo 23), both Schwitzke and Schafroth state that it was Eich's last before the war, thus attempting to remove it from any possible involvement with National Socialist war propaganda. Schafroth does not even mention the title of the play (Schafroth 16). Stefan Bodo Würffel writes that the "vom Autor nicht mehr erinnerte" radio play was an "offensichtlich stark anti-englisch orientertes Hörspiel" (Würffel 61). He makes no mention of the propaganda campaign of which the play was a part.

Cuomo's and Vieregg's views of the play are not the only contemporary ones. Since the discovery of the radio play in a Prague cloister in October of 1993, its exact contents have led to speculation as to how much of it was Eich's own work and whether or not he attempted to include a subversive anti-fascist component. Christof Siemes claims that the play has a "sozialkritische, antikapitalistische, aber nicht unbedingt antibritische Stoßrichtung." [133] He also claims that since all characters must speak German ("zwangsläufig") one could surmise that the unscrupulous mine owners are representative of the Germans and not the British. Siemes goes on to claim that one subplot manages to arouse sympathy for socialist ("nicht nationalsozialistische") ideas. The subplot in question is one involving Lord Pembroke's daughter

---

[132] Schwitzke, Gesammelte Werke III, first edition (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973) 1414.

[133] Christof Siemes, "Ein kleiner Stachel," Die Zeit (October 29, 1993) 68.

Lilian. Lilian had been involved with the "Arbeiterhilfsfund," donating her father's money to their cause and joining marches to protest his treatment of the worker's. In the end, however, she gives up her socialist hobby and concentrates on training for the world amateur dance championships, saying that the workers reek and that she feels comfortable only in the company of "gepflegte Menschen."

Siemes further maintains that the piece is only a "Brotarbeit" meant to inject a "kleinen Stachel im Fleisch der Programmverantwortlichen." He insists that Eich wrote it purely out of monetary desperation and quotes a letter from Eich to Kuhnert:

> Es ist ein jammervolles Werk. Dennoch hoffe ich stark auf eine baldige Sendung honoraris causa. Mit Anschluß an die Sender sämtlicher eroberter Gebiete.[134]

It is worth noting that this letter contains the only mention Eich ever made about current events in the Third Reich, namely the "sämtliche eroberte Gebiete." It makes Eich seem rather cold and self-centred, his only concern with the conquered territories being their ability to provide a wider audience for his propaganda piece Rebellion in der Goldstadt.

A topic common to both Vieregg and his critic Siemes is the moral dilemma in which Eich found himself as a poet working for the National Socialist regime. Drawing on his letters to Kuhnert in which he discusses Rebellion, Vieregg writes that these letters show:

> ... das Verhaltensmuster von Eich während der NS-Zeit: die Zerissenheit zwischen einer moralischen Position, die er in Radium [radio play] beziehen will, und dem Weiterschreiben für das System, zwischen dem beißenden Hohn auf eine ungeliebte Arbeit und dem Geld, das er dann doch wieder gern nimmt, zwischen künstlerischer Verantwortung auf dem "Parnaß" und der Fabrikation "jammervoller" Produkte für die Massenverwertung (Vieregg 54).

---

[134] Letter from Eich to A. Arthur Kuhnert dated April 20, 1940. Siemes 68. Vieregg 53.

Whether Radium contains Eich's expression of guilt for his involvement with the National Socialist regime, or whether it marks a change in his view of the poet's role in society due to his experiences in the Third Reich, is the subject of the next chapter.

8. RADIUM.

Critics have interpreted Radium as an allegory of Eich's situation as a writer during the Third Reich.[135] However, only Cuomo and Vieregg see the play's protagonist, the nature poet Chabanais, as representative of Eich the poet writing propaganda for the National Socialist regime. Post, Richardson and Schafroth all argue that in Chabanais, Eich has thematized the situation of a nature poet whose art is rendered obsolete by a technocractic world bent on industrial progress and material gain.

By taking into account the situation in which Eich found himself during the Third Reich and with a detailed analysis of Radium, Cuomo builds a convincing case for viewing the radio play as Eich's admission of complicity with the National Socialist regime. Vieregg supports Cuomo's theory and presents excerpts from Eich's letters that further support Cuomo's claims, as well as his own argument that Eich was expressing guilt for compromising with the National Socialist regime.

Written in 1936 and based on Rudolf Brunngraber's novel Radium: Roman eines Elementes,[136] Eich's radio play thematizes the crisis of the nature poet Chabanais, a character not found in the novel, who must turn to writing advertisements for a radium factory in order to afford treatments for his sick wife. Cuomo claims that Eich 'flattens' the characters of Brunngraber's novel in order to create the stock encounter between good and evil. He believes that with Chabanais Eich raises questions about the poet's responsibility to society and highlights two scenes that illustrate Eich's view of this role.

---

[135] Cuomo 110-15. Klaus-Dieter Post 260-68. Larry L. Richardson 32-33 and 47-48. Heinz P. Schafroth 24-26. Vieregg 25-26 and 46-47.

[136] Rudolf Brunngraber, Radium: Geschichte eines Elementes (Berlin: Rowohlt, 1936).

The first scene is one in which Chabanais attempts to sell his poem "Hymnus an den Frühling" ("Dich besinge ich, den alle besangen, o Frühling / Dein unbeirrbares Blühen) (GW II 161) to a newspaper editor who rejects it as irrelevant to the times; "Der Griff in die Zeit, das ist es was wir brauchen. Was geht uns die Ewigkeit an?" (GW II 161). The second scene is one in which Chabanais confronts the receptionist at a cancer clinic where he has gone to try and find help for his wife. The receptionist is a dilettante poet who composes bad poetry and flirts with the nurse while patients die of cancer:

> Ihr Hemd ist isabellfarben
> Sie sprach zu mir: Ich liebe dich!
> Doch jener Sommer ist vergangen,
> wo es nur uns gab: dich und mich.
> *Er notiert.* Nummer 7 ist gestorben. Brustkrebs (GW II 169).

The macabre nature of this scene indicates sarcasm on Eich's part and a possible change in his view of poets who remain aloof from the world around them. As discussed in chapter three of this thesis, the detached poet was consistent with Eich's ideological stance in his early career. In 1936, the character of the callous receptionist indicates a possible change in this idological position.

Chabanais is denied treatment for his wife, since he is too poor to afford the radium treatments required. In desperation he composes a hymn to radium which is published. Encouraged by his success, Chabanais applies for work as one of the "Propagandaleute" who work for the corrupt and greedy Cynac at his radium plant. At this point in the play, two autobiographical features become apparent, the first of which, as noted by Cuomo, is rather minor. The name of Chabanais' wife, Elisa, is similiar to that of the woman in Eich's life during the time he wrote Radium, Elsa Anna Burk. Elisa's illness might also be symbolic of Elsa Burk's morphine addiction. The second feature is more significant, but only Cuomo and Vieregg have examined it in detail. Like Chabanais, Eich compromised his artistic integrity by adapting his writing to serve propaganda purposes. His historical adaptations which glorify Prussia's military past, such as In den Staub mit allen Feinden Brandenburgs! Das Werk des Großen Kurfürsten,[137] "Die Schattenschlacht," and Brandenburgs Adler über Afrika,[138] are taken as evidence by Cuomo that Eich "adapted his writing, emphasized "Blut-und-Boden"elements and chose nationalistic themes in order to make his material marketable during the Hitler regime" (Cuomo 113).

Unlike Eich, the character of Chabanais does not continue to write propaganda. When an accident at a radium factory kills seventeen girls, Chabanais writes the critical poem "Siebzehn leuchtende Mädchen", a poem in which he hopes to unite Chabanais the ad-man with Chabanais the poet and create a poem that would mark the hour in which "Propaganda zur Religion wird:"

> Schlecht verwalten wir, was die Erde uns gab,
> und geringe ist, denke ich, die Frist vor dem Untergang.
> Schon gewahre ich den gleichen apokalyptischen Glanz in vielen
> Gesichten (GW II 183-84).

Cuomo maintains that this poem "contains the strongest statement of impending doom and critique of modern civilization yet to be found in Eich's radio plays" (Cuomo 113).

What happens to Chabanais' poem could be seen as Eich's explanation for not resisting during the National Socialist regime. Cynac's censors eliminate the poem, as Cuomo states, "much in the same way the Third Reich censorship apparatus made any attempt to publish a direct attack on the Hitler regime a futile if not suicidal act" (Cuomo 114). Cuomo surmises, "the incident with Chabanais's poem, then, might appear by extension as a demonstration of the futility of becoming an oppositional writer within the Third Reich" (Cuomo 114).

---

[137] An historical radio play for adolescents. No text is available. According to Cuomo, both the title and the broadcast date, June 22, 1933 the anniversary of the Battle of Fehrbellin in 1645, indicate that the play took Friedrich Wilhelm's victory over the Swedes as its subject matter. Cuomo 32.

[138] No text is available. Once again, Cuomo maintains that title and program information indicate that the play was an historical adaptation for adolescents. Cuomo 32.

In the end Chabanais escapes to the Congo and into the jungle. As already discussed in this thesis, flight from civilization and a return to nature is a common theme in Eich's work. Eich himself, however, did not escape, "Er schrieb weiter für das Geld, das er brauchte, und er schrieb was der NS-Rundfunk von ihm erwartete" (Vieregg 47). Eich continued to write the Deutscher Kalender series and four years later he would contribute directly and knowingly to Goebbel's propaganda campaign with Rebellion in der Goldstadt.

Vieregg supports Cuomo's claim that Chabanais is Eich's self portrait, stating that Chabanais' situation parallels Eich's at the time he wrote Radium:

> Eichs Selbstporträt in Radium, der Dichter Chabanais (chabanais = Bordell; Eich gebraucht das Wort einmal in diesem Sinne in einem Brief vom 3.7.1936), der sich prostituiert hat, entspricht exact der tatsächlichen Situation, in der Eich sich zu dieser Zeit befand, nämlich Werbung zu schreiben für ein verbrecherisches Regime (Vieregg 25).

Vieregg maintains that money was Eich's prime reason for continuing to write for the National Socialist broadcast system, rather than ideological sympathy with the party. Vieregg supports his argument with excerpts from Eich's letters:

> Mein alter Wunsch, eine eigene Wohnung, ließ sich bei der Gelegenheit auch verwirklichen und ich bin sehr froh darüber. Ich habe nun zwei Zimmer mit Küche, mit Zentralheizung und warmem Wasser, im alten Westen, nahe dem Lützowplatz, ein paar Schritte von meinem innig geliebten Landwehrkanal. Leider Gottes hat mich die ganze Sache völlig bankrott gemacht und obwohl ich schon horrende Schulden habe, fehlen mir immer noch einige Möbel, die Vorhänge und viele Kleinigkeiten, die zusammen eine Menge Geld kosten. So werde ich mich die nächsten Monate intensiv dem Rundfunk widmen müssen (Vieregg 25).

Vieregg argues that judging by his letters Eich felt himself to be in a crisis situation :

> Die Krise, in die Eich ab 1936 geriet, war also eine doppelte: eine "moralische," das Bewußtsein, sich des Gelderwerbs wegen an eine Macht verkauft zu haben, die das Böse war. Für dieses Bewußtsein steht wohl am ehesten die Figur des Chabanais mit ihrem Satz: "[...] die Kälte kriecht mir ins Herz, der eisige

> Zweifel, ob es das Göttliche war, wofür ich schrieb." Und es ist eine "künstlerische Krise," das verlorene "Glück des Schöpferischen" - nicht nur als Folge des durch die verhaßten Rundfunkarbeiten bedingten Zeitmangels, sondern als innere Beschädigung (GW IV 195; Vieregg 46).

Vieregg quotes a letter from Eich to Kuhnert in which he writes about his guilty conscience:

> Ich sehe ein, daß meine Bemühungen ein Schriftsteller zu sein, d.h. ein brauchbares Glied der menschlichen Gemeinschaft, vergeblich sind. Ich meine nicht des Geldes oder des Erfolges wegen, - das habe ich ja beides bis zu einem gewissen Grade gehabt und kann es weiter haben. Aber ich werde nie und nimmer glücklich sein in dieser Rolle, das Verbogene in diesem Lebenszustand hält mich ewig in schlechtem Gewissen, jegliche undichterische Betätigung nehme ich mehr oder weniger nicht ernst. Also werde ich mit blauem Augenaufschlag und leicht flatterndem Haar auf den Parnaß meiner Jugend zurückkehren. Und meine Gefährten dort werden mir verzeihen, daß ich lange fort war und daß manches Böse über sie gedacht und gesagt habe.[139]

This letter does not indicate all-consuming guilt on Eich's part. He does not take his radio text work for the National Socialist broadcast system seriously, he remains confident in his earning potential and success, and he is sure that friends whom he has alienated will forgive him in the future. The question also arises as to when Eich attempted to be a "brauchbares Glied der menschlichen Gemeinschaft." His poetic ideology up to and after 1936, until about 1948, indicates a wish to keep his writing apart from any social obligation, and thus negates any wish to be a "useful" member of society.

Earlier criticism placed an emphasis on Chabanais' transformation into a socially critical poet. Critics such as Post, Richardson and Schafroth have interpreted Chabanais' metamorphosis as symbolic of what they perceive as Eich's changing attitude toward the role of poet and poetry in society. Post attributes a socially critical function to Radium:

> Ihm [Eich] geht es nicht darum, den Fortschritt zu verteufeln, es kommt ihm vielmehr darauf an, an prägnanten Situationen die bedrohliche Leere des menschlichen Herzens aufzuzeigen und daran zu demonstrieren, wie mit dem

---

[139] Letter to Kuhnert dated June 6, 1936. Vieregg 46.

> Verlust dieses menschlichen Zentrums auch jede Hoffnung der Menschheit ersterben muß.[140]

Post sees a pessimism in Radium, one carried over from Eich's earlier work, but does not emphasize the "Zivilizationsfeindlichkeit" that both Richardson and Schafroth attribute to the radio play.

Richardson sees Radium as Eich's warning of the "dangers of scientific progress and exploitative capitalism," and he goes on to write that the radio play "deal[s] with nature poets who must give up writing about nature and the eternal in a world governed by economic and technological forces." (Richardson 47) He sees Chabanais as Eich's illustration of the dangers of utilitarian poetry and how it can be exploited. But this view does not stop Richardson from attributing a social purpose to the play.

Richardson claims that in Radium, Eich began to experiment with a "mild form of social criticism" and that he no longer "insisted on art for art's sake." Richardson maintains that although Eich remained politically disengaged, he did begin to deal with such issues as poverty, capitalism and technological change. He attributes this change to Eich's experiences under National Socialist rule; "It appears that his aloofness toward contemporary society had been shattered by the Nazi experiences." (Richardson 47)

Schafroth agrees with Richardson's interpretation of Radium when he argues that in the radio play Eich is stating "vorbei ist [...] die Zeit des rauschhaften Naturlebens, [...] nun [bestimmen] die Technokraten und Wirtschaftsmagnaten das Schicksal der Welt." Although Schafroth concedes that Chabanais might be a caricature of Eich, he refers to Chabanais' inability to continue writing nature poetry in a technocratic world as parallel to Eich's situation in the Third Reich, and not to Chabanais' propaganda writing for a corrupt employer. Schafroth also sees Chabanais as symbolic of Eich's changed stance on the function of poetry and its relevance to the times (Schafroth 25).

---

[140] Klaus Dieter Post, Zwischen Angst und Einverständnis (Bonn: Bouvier, 1977) 264.

Although the interpretations of Radium by Post, Richardson and Schafroth can be supported, they all conspicuously neglect the obvious biographical connections Cuomo and Vieregg draw between Eich and the character Chabanais. Furthermore, none accurately portrays the extent of Eich's lyric production from this period. Post does not mention any of Eich's Third Reich era poetry. Richardson claims that Eich's poetry production was seriously impeded during the Third Reich (Richardson 31). Schafroth maintains that Eich wrote only ten poems between 1932 and 1940 (Schafroth 26). Cuomo, however, places the total number of poems which Eich wrote during the Third Reich at approximately fifty-eight, thirty-three of which were published individually with the other twenty-five found in radio texts. These are the poems whose existence was first documented in 1989. At that time Cuomo further surmised that perhaps another twenty poems were written for other radio plays (Cuomo 119). In the poetry volume of the new 1991 edition of Eich's Gesammelte Werke, editor Axel Vieregg includes sixty-two poems poems which Eich wrote from 1933 to 1940. Twelve were published individually during that time and nine of them were later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte, released in 1948. An addtional thirty-three poems were selected from radio texts, proving Cuomo right.[141] Vieregg and Cuomo emphasize Chabanais' desperate turn to propaganda writing for the corrupt Cynac as metaphoric of Eich's situation as a writer in the Third Reich. This biographical interpretation is well supported by Vieregg and his use of Eich's letters from the time he wrote Radium.

If Post, Richardson and Schafroth are correct in their assumption that Radium indicates a change in Eich's view of poetry and its social function, than such a change would be apparent in the poetry which Eich wrote in 1936 and after. This argument is presented by Cuomo, and his analysis of the poetry which Eich wrote between 1933 and 1940 demonstrates that no change is apparent.

---

[141] Gesammelte Werke I endnotes 436-448. 508-509. 516-517.

9. EICH'S POETRY DURING THE THIRD REICH ERA.

Cuomo argues that no change takes place from Eich's pre-Third Reich era poetry and the poetry which he wrote between 1933 and 1945. The basis of Cuomo's argument is his critique of the "poetic crisis" theory espoused by those critics who see the Third Reich as a period during which Eich wrote either no poetry at all, or no poetry of any significance. Cuomo presents the views of Egbert Krispyn and Susanne Müller-Hanpft as representative of this theory (Cuomo 116).

Krispyn maintains that "the year 1935 marks [...] the beginning of a decade in which Eich wrote virtually no poetry at all," and he continues by arguing that it is possible to interpret Eich's cessation of lyric production:

> ... as a demonstration against the prevailing state of affairs, in which a preoccupation with anything other than the disastrous realities of everyday life and death could be regarded as irresponsible. Eich's abandonment of lyric work was, of course, politically ineffective. It therefore bears all the more impressive testimony to his personal and creative integrity if in acknowledgement of the prevailing brutality and tragedy he made the poet's supreme sacrifice of self-imposed silence (Krispyn 40-41).

Müller-Hanpft also subscribes to the theory that the Third Reich constitutes a lull in Eich's lyric activity, the beginning of which she places in 1932. Unlike Krispyn, she does not view this lull as a form of protest, but rather as evidence of Eich's recognition that his preferred "Naturmystik" poetry was inappropriate at that time. She admits, unlike Krispyn, that Eich's radio texts could have served propagandistic purposes, but still dismisses them as "reine Routinearbeiten ohne persöhnliches Engagement" (Müller-Hanpft 30-31).

Cuomo points out that Eich turned to writing radio plays in 1932 for financial reasons and that his success led him to spend all his time on the production of radio texts. Accordingly, he neglected poetry for lack of time. Cuomo therefore argues that Krispyn and Müller-Hanpft's portrayal of Eich as a "frustrated poet" is misleading and that with this image they have "fostered a tendency among critics to focus more on the poetry which Eich allegedly did not write than on the copious broadcast texts he did produce in this period" (Cuomo 117). However, there were two critics before Cuomo and Vieregg who attempted to refute the "poetic crisis" theory, Hans Dieter Schäfer (see page 6 above) and Heinrich Georg Briner.[142]

Schäfer discovered that Eich had published individual poems until 1938, several of which reappeared in Abgelegene Gehöfte (Schäfer 462). In referring to the consistent "Naturmystik" themes throughout the poetry of Abgelegene Gehöfte, Briner argues that "vieles [scheint] dafür zu sprechen, daß Eich während des Dritten Reiches keineswegs in dem Masse lyrisch verstummt war, wie allgemein angenommen wurde" (Briner 51).

Cuomo uncovered further evidence from "Reichsschriftumskammer" documents that supports Schäfer's and Briner's new image of Eich as a productive poet in the Third Reich. On a questionnaire Eich listed four poems which he had published in the journal Der Bücherwurm in 1934.[143] Joachim Storck also refers to an additional two poems that Eich had published in a 1938 edition of the journal Philobiblon.[144]

The poems Eich wrote for radio texts constitutes a second group. Cuomo estimates the number of existing poems at fifty-eight and he surmises that another thirty might have been present in lost or destroyed radio texts (Cuomo 119). Vieregg includes thirty-three poems from this group in his edition of Eich's collected poetry for the Gesammelte Werke, most of which were not included in the 1973 edition. Even though these poems were tailored specifically for each radio play episode, they do share common features with Eich's independant work. However, an examination of this group of poems would be outside the parameters of this thesis.

---

[142] Heinrich Georg Briner, Naturmystik, Biologischer Pessimismus, Ketzertum. Günter Eichs Werk im Spannungsfeld der Theodizee. (Bonn : Bouvier, 1978)

[143] "Tag im Herbst," "Nacht," "Mittag," and "Zu einer sehr alten Photographie."

[144] Joachim Storck, Günter Eich, Marbacher Magazin 45 (1988). The two poems were "Wiederkehr" and "Der Tag im März."

Cuomo characterizes Eich's Third Reich era poetry as unoriginal, conservative, at times epigonic and often "flawed by poetic clichés" (Cuomo 120). Eich appears to have maintained his belief that the poet must remain above political and social concerns when creating art. In opposition to those critics who saw a possible change in Eich's view of the poet's role in society, Cuomo sees a continued lack of social interest in Eich's poetry:

> Rather than focussing on the tragic consequences of the fascist takeover in his homeland, Eich chose to remain with the same "timeless" themes he had been treating since he emerged on the literary scene in 1927 (Cuomo 120).

Cuomo states that Eich's lyrics from the beginning of the Third Reich continue to express a "preoccupation with mankind's relationship to infinite nature." This theme, predominant in his earlier poetry, does indeed carry over into his lyric production from 1933 to 1940, and beyond.

Numerous elements from Eich's debut years are present in his poetry written during the National Socialist regime. His trademark anthropomorphism, mystification of nature, familiar vocabulary (Regen, Wind, Wolken, Baum, Schmerz, Herz, Herbst, etc.), themes of nature alienation and the temporality which governs human existence as opposed to the eternity of nature, as well as the typical "abab" rhyme scheme all remain standard features in his poetry from 1933 to 1940 - for example in the poems "Abend im März"[145] and "Tag im Herbst."[146]

In "Abend im März" the lyrical self speaks to the moon as if he were a visitor in his home:

Ich trete in die Türe ein,

---

[145] Das innere Reich (March, 1935) 1525. Reprinted in Gesammelte Werke 61.

[146] Bücherwurm 19,1 (1934) 23-24. Reprinted in Gesammelte Werke 193.

> der Mond war vor mir dort.
> Ach Mond, du sollst nicht bei mir sein!
> Er schweigt und geht nicht fort.

This verse is an illustration of Eich's anthropomorphism. The lyrical self's desire to become a natural part of the earth and thus free from human worries, an aspect of "Regressionssehnsucht," is evident in the last verse:

> Er [der Mond] ist so blind, er ist so taub,
> ihn kümmern Tränen nicht.
> Er schwankt im Wind, er hängt im Laub,
> ach mit demselben Licht.

As in the 1927 poem "Deine Tage gehen falsch,"(see page 33-34 above) the wish to return to a carefree presentient state consumes the lyrical self. Also, the nature vocabulary "Laub" and "Wind" is a holdover from Eich's earlier poetry.

In "Tag im Herbst" the wind is personified in the first line, "Wind, du schüttest das gelbe / Weinlaub ins Fenster," and in the second rain is anthropomorphosized, "Regen, ach immer derselbe / Schritt der Gespenster." In the second verse "Baum" and "Gestirne" are included in the list of ghosts mentioned in the first verse, bringing in yet two more words often used by Eich. The rotting of the apples and pears on the trees is lamented, as symbolic of the passage of time which humans are subject to, while the wind continues to blow as it always has in the timeless realm of nature.

Nature is characterized as a comforting retreat in "Wind über der Stadt."[147] The first verse of the poem reads little better than a greeting card with its simplistic images and structure:

> Wenn ich jetzt im Walde wäre,
> rauschten Kiefer oder Buche.
> Steinpilz wächst und Heidelbeere,

---

[147] Almanach der Dame. Fünfzig auserwählte Gedichte, (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1935) 12-13. Gesammelte Werke I 196.

die ich gerne suche.

The forest represents the natural realm where the lyrical self can cease to be a human being and forget his cares:

> Wollte ich verlassen sein,
> ginge ich in diese Wälder.
>
> Sie bewachsen auch den Schmerz:
> glücklich bin ich, wenn ich denke,
> daß ins kummervolle Herz
> sanft ihr Wurzelwerk sich senke.

The last two lines are reminiscient of the scene in Schritte zu Andreas in which the woodcutter melds with nature by becoming one with a tree, thus this poem also expresses the desire to return to a presentient state, known to the reader from Eich's earlier poems.

The last poem which I will look at is "Weg durch die Dünen."[148] Hans Dieter Schäfer attributes an element of social criticism to this poem. He concentrates on the last verse of the poem when building his argument:

> Ich fühle eine fremde Nähe
> und eine Last von vieler Zeit,
> als ob ich sie mit Augen sähe,
> die tödliche Unendlichkeit.

Schäfer argues that this verse shows a reaction to the Hitler regime:

> Der Text zeigt, daß nicht das Kriegserlebnis, sondern vielmehr die Krisenphilosophie für die Umwertung der Naturzeichen zur negativen Signatur verantwortlich zu machen ist. In den Kreisen des Strandhafers und den Spuren der Vögel im Sand entziffert das lyrische Ich erschreckt die 'tödliche Unendlichkeit'(Schäfer 486).

Cuomo disagrees with Schäfer and argues that the terror which Schäfer attributes to the lyrical self in the last verse is absent from the rest of the poem. Cuomo argues that the last verse is a "summation of the persona's impressions of the environment," and that the theme of this poem is "mankind's limited comprehension of the infinite natural realm" (Cuomo 123).

---

[148] Almanach der Dame. Fünfzig Auserwählte Gedichte. (Berlin: Ullstein, 1935) 26-27. Gesammelte Werke I 60.

In fact the previous eight verses offer standard Eich vocabulary, imagery and mood, all of which work together to deliver the theme of man's desire to become one with nature. The lyrical self feels himself shut out from the realm of nature, unable to understand its language:

> Ich denke auch der Vogelzüge,
> der flüchtigsten, der reinsten Spur.
> Es weiß um ihre schönen Flüge
> der Himmel nur.
>
> Ein Grüßen folgt ihrer Reise,
> die Halme scharren übern Sand,
> der Hafer zeichnet halbe Kreise
> wie eine Hand.
>
> Ich will in solchen Schriften lesen.
> Was schrieb das Gras, was schrieb das Meer?
> Sie schreiben Zeiten, die gewesen,
> mit fremden Zeichen her.

The last verse now becomes a wish to bond with the natural realm in order to understand its language, not an expression of terror. Cuomo compares the words "tödliche Unendlichkeit" to the scene in Schritte zu Andreas where Andreas dies and becomes one with nature. Cuomo argues that this "reintegration into nature" is what the lyrical self of the poem is longing for, thus "Weg durch die Dünen" becomes a "good example of thematic consistency in Eich's prewar and postwar writing" (Cuomo 124). The fact that this poem was included in Eich's first postwar publication, the poetry collection Abgelegene Gehöfte, indicates that it is possible to agree with Cuomo.

A number of the poems that Eich wrote during the Third Reich were included in Abgelegene Gehöfte, nine out of seventy-two to be exact, with seven of those nine having been published during the Third Reich. That these poems were so easily combined with Eich's postwar compositions indicates strongly that Eich's poetry did not undergo a sudden and drastic change from "Naturmystik" literature to socially critical work as the previous image of Eich's postwar literary efforts would indicate.

In the last chapter I will again trace Eich's recurring use of certain words, images, themes and verse structures in the poems of Abgelegene Gehöfte. A consistency can be observed through all three phases of Eich's career as presented in the poetry collection.

10. ABGELEGENE GEHÖFTE.

In the spring of 1944 Eich was transferred from his post at the "Stabstelle Papier" in Berlin to a communications unit in Dresden, and then to Geisenhausen in the vicinity of Landshut. It would be in this small town where he would eventually settle in 1946. He departed for the western front in the Ruhr area in late 1944 and there he was captured near Remagen in the spring of 1945. He was interned in the American POW camp number sixteen near Sinzig, later the subject of his well known poems "Camp 16" and "Sinziger Nacht."

Critics Eich's first publication of collected poems after World War II, Abgelegene Gehöfte, tend to concentrate on poems written while he was a prisoner in Camp 16. (Cf. Höllerer, Müller-Hanpft, Richter) Many single out the poem "Inventur" as an example:

> Dies ist meine Mütze,
> dies ist mein Mantel,
> hier mein Rasierzeug
> im Beutel aus Leinen.
>
> Konservenbüchse:
> Mein Teller, mein Becher,
> ich hab in das Weißblech
> den Namen geritzt.
>
> Geritzt hier mit diesem
> kostbaren Nagel,
> den vor begehrlichen
> Augen ich berge.
>
> Im Brotbeutel sind
> ein Paar wollene Socken
> und einiges, was ich
> niemand verrate,
>
> so dient es als Kissen
> nachts meinem Kopf.
> Die Pappe hier liegt
> zwischen mir und der Erde.
>
> Die Bleistiftmine
> lieb ich am meisten:
> Tags schreibt sie mir Verse,

> die nachts ich erdacht.
>
> Dies ist mein Notizbuch,
> dies meine Zeltbahn,
> dies ist mein Handtuch,
> dies ist mein Zwirn (GW I 35).

Critics saw this poem not only as the prototypical "Kahlschlagsgedicht," but also as the most important example of "Kahlschlagspoesie" as described in a standard literary dictionary of today:

> **Kahlschlag**, von W. WEYRAUCH (Tausend Gramm, 1949) geprägtes Schlagwort für die wünschenswerte Reinigung der deutschen Sprache von Nazi-Relikten und völligen Neubeginn in der Nullpunkt-Situation der deutschen Literatur nach 1945, am besten belegt in G. EICHS Gedicht "Inventur."[149]

Even twelve years after Abgelegene Gehöfte's publication, in an almanac compiled to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the "Gruppe 47," Hans Werner Richter still saw "Inventur" as the finest example of the "Kahlschlagsliteratur" when he describes the literary situation in Germany after World War II:

> Die Kahlschlägler fangen in Sprache, Substanz und Konzeption von vorn an. Es sei erlaubt, das was ich meine, durch ein Gedicht zu exemplifizieren, durch die außerordentlichen Verse Günter Eichs, die er "Inventur" überschrieben hat.[150]

Abgelegene Gehöfte was re-released eighteen years after its debut with a dustjacket proclaiming, as if nothing had changed, that the collection was proof of Eich's "new beginning" in the post-World War II era:

> ... diese Gedichte sind ein unschätzbares Dokument zur Literatur der ersten Nachkriegsjahre, vor allem jedoch bringen sie die Bestätigung, daß Eichs Lyrik [...] weit mehr ist als ein tastender Neuanfang in einer literarischen Trümmerlandschaft: wenn es so etwas wie einen "Kahlschlag" in der verbrauchten deutschen Sprache nach 1945 gegeben hat, so ist Günter Eich, mit

---

[149] Gero von Wilpert, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, seventh edition. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1989) 437.

[150] Hans Werner Richter, in Almanach der Gruppe 47, 1962. Reprinted in Müller-Hanpft 39.

> diesem Gedichtband, einer, der neue Töne - eine neue Sprache - gefunden hat.[151]

Twenty-eight years after its premiere, Otto Knörrich described Abgelegene Gehöfte as the work of a political nature poet, one whose work was effected by his experiences of the Third Reich:

> Der Dichter der Abgelegene Gehöfte ist [...] ein politischer Naturlyriker, der den Gegensatz zwischen poetischem Abseits und gesellschaftlichem Engagement nicht anerkennt [...]. Natürlich trugen die Erlebnisse in Diktatur und Krieg zu dieser Haltung bei.[152]

Susanne Müller-Hanpft focuses primarily on Eich's POW camp poems, stating that the prison camp was symbolic of the sad state of society as a whole and that it also stood for the absurdity of human actions (Müller-Hanpft 38-39). She separates Eich from other poets of the post World War II era by claiming that he did not retreat into idyllic nature poetry again, but rather set out to take stock of what was left to the survivors of the war:

> [Eichs erste Nachkriegsverse] begnügen sich mit einer Inventur dessen, was den Menschen umgab, was von seinen Ansprüchen übriggeblieben war. Das war schon viel. Denn während die meisten Lyriker aus Eich's Generation sich sogleich wieder auf die Idylle zurückzogen, während sie Trost suchten in total entwirklichten Natur- und Liebesgedichten [...], suchte Eich die Konfrontation mit den Resten der kulturellen Tradition (Müller-Hanpft 34).

Müller-Hanpft does refer to two poems not of the POW camp variety, "Aurora" and "Abgelegene Gehöfte." She claims that these two poems are part of Eich's attempt to redefine his cultural heritage as he confronts the classical Greek and German Romantic traditions (Müller-Hanpft 48).

---

[151] Reprinted in Müller-Hanpft 47.

[152] Otto Knörrich, Die Deutsche Lyrik seit 1945, second edition. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1978) 187.

Peter Horst Neumann has much the same interpretation of his poems "Latrine," "An die Lerche" and "Inventur," all of the POW camp variety. He sees them as "mirrors of tradition."[153] Neumann does not believe that Eich experienced a "new beginning" in 1945, but he does not see a continuity in Eich's work either. Instead he claims that Eich's poetry engaged in "kritischste Selbst- und Traditionsüberprüfung" (Neumann 51). In other words, Eich did not return to his old poetic style as a form of escape, but rather parodied it in a self-critical manner.

Of those critics who do examine the nature poetry in Abgelegene Gehöfte, Heinz P. Schafroth, Egbert Krispyn and Larry Richardson maintain that its similiarity to Eich's earliest poetry is a result of his changed perception after his experiences in the Third Reich. Schafroth claims that the nature poems of Abgelegene Gehöfte are evidence of the profound and disturbing effect which the second World War had on Eich:

> Sie [die Naturgedichte] sind Beispiel dafür, wie der Schock über Zerstörung und Niederlage die alten Werte und Vokabeln wieder emporschwemmte und wie eine vorläufige Ratlosigkeit die Radikalität von Bruch und Absage scheut (Schafroth 51).

Krispyn interprets Eich's "return" to nature poetry as a demonstration of hope:

> Eich's decision that a lyric preoccupation with fundamental themes was permissible again, demonstrates his hopefulness that a new and better world could arise out of the ruins of the old [...]. Thus the majority of his poems in Remote Farmsteads, written in the year or so prior to its publication in 1948, is very similiar in style and tone to the pre-1935 lyric production.[154]

Richardson maintains that life in the Third Reich and during the war caused a change in Eich's poetic perspective, which resulted in a "new" poetic device for Eich:

---

[153] Peter Horst Neumann, Die Rettung der Poesie im Unsinn. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981) 51.

[154] Egbert Krispyn, Günter Eich, Twayne World Authors Series 148. (New York: Twayne, 1971) 50.

> As a result of his shift in perspective from the mystical to the temporal world, Eich has anthropomorphized his nature imagery, using nature to express the human condition (Richardson 70).

Since none of these critics discuss Eich's poetry written during the Third Reich, they do not see a continuity in his work from 1927 through 1948. Instead, they see the emphasis on "Naturmystik" themes in Abgelegene Gehöfte as Eich's return to his pre-Third Reich era work.

A look at Abgelegene Gehöfte as a whole reveals a startling similiarity between nature poems written in the pre-1933, Third Reich and post-Third Reich periods. The anthropomorphism which Richardson sees as new is actually an important component of Eich's poetry in all three phases (see chapters three and nine above).

Eich's theme of the individual alienated from nature and attempting to learn its secret language of signs is also common in all of his poetry from 1927 to 1948. The theme of eternity in nature as opposed to the temporality of human existence also reocurrs. Numerous images and words are repeated in poem after poem in Abgelegene Gehöfte, not to mention the persistent four line verse and the "abab" rhyme scheme.

I will proceed chronologically through selected poems from Abgelegene Gehöfte dealing with the above mentioned themes. I will also give a brief analysis of poems utilizing anthropomorphism and displaying images and vocabulary common to Eich's nature poetry throughout his career.

The poem "Wald vor dem Tage," written in 1933, takes as its theme an individual's attempt to communicate with nature. In the first line of the third verse Eich uses his trademark anthropomorphism as he describes the alienation of the lyrical self from nature:

> Der Wald haucht aus die Kühle.
> Wem bin ich auf der Spur?
> Der Atem, den ich fühle,
> ist meiner nur (GW I 56).

The slow passage of time in the natural realm is described in the last verse:

Gehörn neigt zur Quelle,
die Zeit in Tropfen rinnt,
versickernd in die Stelle,
wo aller Tag beginnt.

Time running in drops is an example of a mixed metaphor commonly used by Eich, one which would reappear in Schritte zu Andreas (see page 39).

In the poem "Wiederkehr," written in 1938, the forest reemerges as a central image, representative of eternity:

In den alten Wäldern waren
Augenblick und Ewigkeit.
Ring um Ring wuchs in den Jahren,
doch wie wenig ist die Zeit!(GW I 62)

Anthropomorphism is the device used by Eich in the fourth verse as the lyrical self attempts to bridge the gap between himself and nature:

Und sie glänzen, die Büsche,
tau- und tränennaß.
Daß ihr Atem mich erfrische,
lehn ich mich in Laub und Gras.

Commenting on this poem Briner writes, "Vor allem unter dem Aspekt der Zeitlosigkeit steht auch hier deutlich die Natur als Reservat eines ersehnten Zustandes" (Briner 45). The lyrical self wants to enter the timeless realm of nature and escape the temporality of human existence.

The eternity found in the natural realm that can be sensed, but never comprehended by humans is the theme of the 1939 poem "Niederschönhausen:"

Im Laubhaus der Platanen
glänzt die gefleckte Rinde.
Wir und die Blätter ahnen
die Ewigkeit im Winde (GW I 21).

The last verse deals with the changing of the seasons and how this reflects the passage of time in the human realm:

Ich weiß nicht, wann sie fallen [die Früchte].
Oh Tag in alten Bäumen!

> Jäh ist mir eingefallen,
> wie wir die Zeit versäumen.

Schafroth claims that "Niederschönhausen," as well as "Sinziger Nacht," a poem that I shall discuss later, is an illustration of the tenaciousness with which Eich adheres to his old themes, existential views and vocabulary in Abgelegene Gehöfte:

> Ein Wort wie Ewigkeit ist in seinem ebenso gewaltigen wie vagen Anspruch kennzeichnend für die Beharrlichkeit der Überlieferung in Thematik, Existenzgefühl und Vokabular der Gedichtsammlung (Schafroth 49).

The individual in "Niederschönhausen" feels cut off from nature because of the difference in time experienced between the two realms. Nature is eternal, but humanity is temporal.

The individual's isolation leads him to seek to enter the natural realm, the key to which appears to be its "secret language." This "Geheime Schrift" is the theme of "Winterliche Miniatur" and "Die Häherfeder."

Written in 1946, "Winterliche Miniatur" is also an example of the persistence of Eich's anthropomorphism:

> Übers Dezembergrün der Hügel
> eine Pappel sich streckt wie ein Monument.
> Krähen schreiben mit trägem Flügel
> eine Schrift in den Himmel, die keiner kennt.
>
> In der feuchten Luft gibt es Laute und Zeichen:
> die Hochspannung klirrt wie Grillengezirp,
> die Pilze am Waldrand zu Gallert erbleichen,
> ein Drosselnest im Strauchwerk verdirbt,
>
> Der Acker liegt in geschwungenen Zeilen,
> das Eis auf den Pfützen zeigt blitzend den Riß.
> Wolken, schwanger von Schnee, verweilen
> überm Alphabete der Bitternis (GW I 27).

The secret language of nature present in the poem is beyond the comprehension of the lyrical self. Eich's anthropomorphism indicates an attempt to make nature more human, thus making it understandable to the lyrical self.

A poem from the same year, "Die Häherfeder," takes this "Geheime Schrift" as its theme as well:

> Ich bin, wo der Eichelhäher
> zwischen den Zweigen streicht,
> einem Geheimnis näher,
> das nicht ins Bewußtsein reicht.
>
> Es preßt mir Herz und Lunge,
> nimmt jäh mir den Atem fort,
> es liegt mir auf die Zunge,
> doch gibt es dafür kein Wort.
>
> Ich weiß nicht, welches der Dinge
> oder ob es der Wind enthält.
> Das Rauschen der Vogelschwinge,
> begreift es den Sinn der Welt?
>
> Der Häher warf seine blaue
> Feder in den Sand.
> Sie liegt wie eine schlaue
> Antwort in meiner Hand (GW I 43-44).

Briner compares "Die Häherfeder" to other poems, such as "Weg durch die Dünen" (see page 88), in order to emphasize the persistence of this "Geheime Schrift" motif:

> Immer sind es Bereiche der Natur, die zu verschlüsselten, aber doch erahnten Zeichen werden.[...] Die Natur wird zur Hieroglyphe. Die Frage nach der Bedeutung der Dechiffrierung, nach dem Verstehen dieser Zeichen rückt in den Vordergrund (Briner 47).

These poems indicate that Eich's reliance on an irrational, mystical view of nature continues to persist in his post Third Reich era work. Erhard Schutz maintains:

> Im Vergleich mit "Inventur" markiert also "Die Häherfeder" tendenziell eine Abwendung von Rationalität ("einem Geheimnis näher / das nicht ins Bewußtsein reicht") und Sprachvertrauen ("doch gibt es dafür kein Wort"); es markiert eine Wendung vom (sprachlichen) Handeln zur intuitiv-mystischen Versenkung: und es markiert schließlich den Rückzug aus der historisch-konkreten Situation in die Natur als Ausformung des Immergleichen.[155]

---

[155] Erhard Schutz, ed. Einführung in die deutsche Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts. Band Drei: BRD und DDR. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1977) 52.

Even in two of the POW poems, "Sinziger Nacht" and "An die Lerche" there remains an irrational belief in the possibility of a human regression into a presentient state that would make a union with nature possible.

In the 1947 poem "Sinziger Nacht" the lyrical self again feels shut out of the natural realm. Although the heavens have become strange to him, he still desires to make a bond with the earth:

> Die Sterne sind mir fremd geworden.
> Ich liege erschauernd und winzig
> auf den tauigen Wiesen vor Sinzig,
> Das Antlitz nach Norden.
>
> Einmal kannte ich sie all:
> Adler, Krone und Schwan,
> als wir gemeinsam sie sahen,
> Frau, im Mond der Nachtigall.
>
> Heut will ich die Sterne nicht mehr,
> will die Erde,
> ihre Beschwerde
> ohne ewigen Lohn und himmlische Wiederkehr.
> Dich küssen, oh Staub,
> nah sein dem Gras,
> Vergänglichkeit, das
> ist, was ich glaub (GW I 36-37).

Larry Richardson sees this poem as Eich's turning away from his old style in nature poetry:

> [Sinziger Nacht] conveys an existential experience in which Eich rejects his previous preoccupation with the infinite and fervently embraces transitory existence. [...] Rather than serving primarily as a sign of mystical revelation, the nature imagery of the immediate postwar poems serves as a finite symbol of Eich's melancholy and fear, emotions that, although not new to his postwar poems, were provoked and reinforced by memories of World War II and by the experience of life in a POW camp (Richardson 69).

But Eich had always written of the transitory nature of human existence, for example, in "Verse an Vielen Abenden." (See pages 32 and 34 above) The lyrical self of this poem still has the desire to be one with nature as he lies in the grass and kisses the dust. Schafroth points out that the theme of "Vergänglichkeit" has always been present in Eich's work, and that this poem shows: "die Erfahrung des Verfalls, der Vergänglichkeit und der unaufhaltsam fliehender Zeit [ist] in die Neuzeit hinübergerettet" (Schafroth 49).

In "An die Lerche" the image of man becoming part of his natural environment is again used by Eich:

> bleibst du nicht, Lerche, Vogel der Gefangnen.
>
> Du graues Wesen, wie dein einfach Lied
> hoch über unsern Häuptern jubiliert,
> als wär der steinern trockne Lehm ein Kornfeld,
> als wären wir nicht dürr und unfruchtbar,
> als solle Saat und Halm aus uns entsprießen
> und unser Los gediehe noch zur Ähre (GW I 38).

The hope that man could be united with the earth is still present.

The last three poems that I will discuss all show how Eich continues to mystify nature, even in the two poems written specifically for Abgelegene Gehöfte in 1948. The poem "Fragment, dem Mond gewidmet" contains a pathos familiar to us from Eich's earliest poetry as the lyrical self addresses the moon with a repeated "Oh":

> Oh voller Mond, ein gelbes Floß der Liebe,
> daß ich an seinem Bord geborgen bliebe!
> Daß das Gewässer mir des Himmels immer
> befahren sei in seinem Silberschimmer,
> das Schilf der Sterne und die Uferweiden,
> Musik der Wälder, hörbar nur uns beiden!
> So rede ich ihn an mit zagem Wort:
> Oh Schiff der Armen, nimm mich mit an Bord,
> mach mir ein Geheimnis wieder kund
> in deinem Lichte der geliebten Mund!
> Oh Meeresgrund des Traums, Septembergras,
> wo sie im Harzgeruch der Wälder saß (GW I 39).

The image of the moon as a ship sailing through the waters of the sky with the background music of the forest audible only to the lyrical self and the moon, evokes the romantic mood of Eich's nature poetry from his earliest and his Third Reich era work. No reference to his actual post-World War II situation is apparent. In referring to this poem, Schafroth writes:

> In solchen Grundströmungen erscheint die Sammlung Äbgelegene Gehöfte als erstaunlich rückwärtsgewandt. Die Stunde Null ist nicht nur nicht gelebt, sondern als solche systematisch übersprungen oder überbrückt. Kahlschlag findet nicht statt, eher zeigt sich ein passioniertes Bestreben, ihn nicht geschehen zu lassen (Schafroth 50).

Both "Wacholderschlaf" and "Regen im Gebirge" were written especially for Abgelegene Gehöfte and neither of the poems shows a change in Eich's view of nature as a supernatural sphere. Both poems are also excellent examples of heavy-handed anthropomorphism. "Wacholderschlaf" is perhaps the best example of extended anthropomorphism to be found in Eich's entire body of work:

> Wacholder, große Herde
> im Hügelland verirrt.
> Den dunkeln Tieren werde
> ich ein verschlafner Hirt.
>
> Ich hüte in den Träumen
> das grüne Nadelvlies.
> Den blaubebeerten Bäumen
> Hauch aus den den Nüstern blies.
>
> [...]
>
> Im Schlummer zugesponnen,
> von Hexen angehaucht,
> hat mir die Welt begonnen,
> in Tau und Harz getaucht.
>
> Sie bleibt im Abendwinde,
> wenn der Wacholder knarrt,
> so flüchtig wie ein Atem
> und ohne Gegenwart (GW I 28-29).

Again in this poem, the individual's dreamlike experience of nature is central.

In "Regen im Gebirge" the individual is absent, but elements of nature are anthropomorphized, thus taking the place of a human protagonist:

> Die Wolken, die sich an den Bergen stoßen
> vergießen ihre Last.
> Das Moos saugt Wasser wie ein Schwamm. Zur Regentraufe
> wird Farn und Fichtenast.

Die Wälder sprechen lauter miteinander.
Im schaumigen Getropf[...] (GW I 41).

This poem, as with all those before, portrays the natural realm as a supernatural sphere.

In the vast majority of poems in Abgelegene Gehöfte, even in POW poems such as "An die Lerche" and "Sinziger Nacht," the individual's experience of isolation from the natural realm is the central motif. The anthropomorphism used by Eich in his earliest poetry and in his Third Reich era work persists in this poetry collection, as the isolated individual attempts to give nature human characteristics in order to make his communion with it possible. The image of a mystical natural realm ungoverned by time also remains constant. Vocabulary used to create this image is monotonously common throughout the poems in Abgelegene Gehöfte, no matter what year they were written. Examples of such persistent word choices include Baum, Wälder, Hauch, Wolken, Mond, Stern, etc.

Schafroth's analysis of the poems in Abgelegene Gehöfte reveals the persistence of Eich's themes of alienation from nature, temporality in human existence and the need to decode nature's secret language. However, Schafroth views Eich's preoccupation with these themes as a return to his pre-Third Reich era work and he does not accurately portray Eich's poetic productivity during the Third Reich. Schafroth, like Krispyn, Müller-Hanpft and Richardson, believes that Eich's experience during the National Socialist regime and in the Second World War deeply influenced his poetry in Abgelegene Gehöfte. Whereas Krispyn, Müller-Hanpft and Richardson claim that these experiences changed Eich's poetry, Schafroth maintains that they led to Eich's retreat into his youthful innocence before the Third Reich. However, as this and the preceding chapter have shown, Eich never left the idyllic "Naturmystik" themes and imagery of his youth.

The poems which Eich wrote during the Third Reich were similiar not only to his earliest work, but also to to his nature poetry written between 1945 and 1948. These poems were so similiar in fact that seven of them were included in Abgelegene Gehöfte where they fit in perfectly, since the majority of poems in the collection are of the "Naturmystik" type.The presence of these nature poems in Abgelegene Gehöfte is further proof of the continuity in Eich's work.

11. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis is to correct the conventional view of Eich's literary career. Traditionally, Eich's career had been seen as consisting of three phases. The youthful "l'art pour l'art" phase from 1927 to 1933, a period of virtual poetic silence and radio text "Brotarbeiten" during the Third Reich and then the third phase beginning in 1945 with Eich's transformation into a socially critical writer. This thesis has shown that instead of three distinct periods, Eich's career was marked by a continuity in theme, imagery and vocabulary used throughout his work from 1927 to 1948.

As discussed at the beginning of chapter ten many critics placed the onset of Eich's so-called transformation into a socially conscious writer with the release of Abgelegene Gehöfte. In the 1950s, with Eich's membership in the "Gruppe 47" and the broadcast of a socially critical radio play like Träume, his reputation as a political writer was firmly established. Critics stressed the politically and socially critical purpose of Eich's work, claiming that he acted as the "Sprecher der Generation des zweiten Weltkrieges" (Höllerer 101), that his radio plays demanded the listeners to make decisions (Pointek 112) and forced Germans to look at their Third Reich past. When referring to the political criticism of Träume, Klempt even goes so far as to attribute Eich's socially critical stance to his experiences in the Third Reich:

> Es dürfte deutlich sein, daß diese Gedanken ["Nirgendwo auf der Landkarte liegt Korea und Bikini, aber in deinem Herzen"] die Summe der Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen darstellen, die dem Dichter während der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur und der Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit erwachsen sind (Klempt 63).

All these views reflect a certain ideological bias. The above cited critics have attributed a social purpose to Eich's post World War II writing. They all claim that Eich's ability to write such profound and moving work is the result of his experiences during the Hitler regime and in the Second World War. The image of Eich as a man acting as Germany's conscience in the post World War II era was built upon this supposition. When Axel Vieregg detailed how involved

Eich was with the National Socialists and their broadcasting system, this image was put in jeopardy. The debate that Vieregg's essay sparked is primarily ideological, with the majority of critics seeking to exonerate Eich for his involvement with the National Socialists.[156]

However, if critics choose to attribute Eich's heightened political and social awareness in the post World War II era to his Third Reich era experiences, a detailed and objective examination of his literary production from this period must be undertaken. By denying that Eich wrote any poetry, and claiming that his contributions to the National Socialist broadcast system were no more than routine "Brotarbeiten" many critics try to defend Eich's post-Third Reich era image without contributing to a deeper understanding of Eich's overall body of work, and in fact detracting from Eich's critical radio plays of his "classic" period in the 1950s. Such a defence makes it appear that Eich's work cannot stand on its quality alone, his image must remain intact for his work to retain its credibility.

This thesis has attempted to remain outside the ideological debate, choosing instead to prove that Eich's works show a continuity that encompasses his Third Reich era literary production. By demonstrating this continuity, the need for a critical examination of Eich's Third Reich era work has been determined. The poetry, prose and radio plays which Eich wrote during that time should not be misinterpreted or ignored in an attempt to protect an image which did not arise from an examination of his entire ouvre. Eich's poetry and prose from 1927 to 1948 speak for themselves; they illustrate the continued concentration on "Naturmystik" themes and a persistent usage of imagery and vocabulary which creat a supernatural realm to which humans are denied access.

---

[156] See chapter two for the arguments of Ulrich Greiner, Peter Horst Neumann and Joachim Storck.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Literature

Eich, Günter. Gesammelte Werke. 4 volumes. Eds. Karl Karst, Axel Vieregg. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991.

--. Gesammelte Werke. 4 volumes. Eds. Ilse Aichinger et al. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973.

Secondary Literature

Arnold, Heinz Ludwig ed. Günter Eich. text + kritik 5. 2nd ed. Munich: Richard Boorberg, 1971.

-- ed. Die Gruppe 47. text + kritik Sonderband. 2nd ed. Munich: Richard Boorberg, 1978.

Balzer, Bernd et al ed. Die deutschsprachiger Literatur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Munich: iudicium, 1988.

Berning, Cornelia. Vom 'Abstammungsnachweis' zum 'Zuchtwart.'Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1964.

Best, Otto F. Handbuch literarischer Fachbegriffe. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1986.

Bien, Günter. "Textstufen und Motivzusammenhänge. Günter Eich: 'Die Häherfeder' und 'Tage mit Hähern'." Der Deutschunterricht 14.3 (1962): 76-80.

--. "Welten aus Sprache. Einige Bemerkungen zur Bedeutung der Sprache im Werk Günter Eichs." Sprache im technischen Zeitalter 5 (1962): 401-10.

Bloom, Margret. Die Westdeutsche Nachkriegszeit im literarischen Original-Hörspiel. Europäische Hochschulschriften 795. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985.

"Blut-und-Boden." Der Volksbrockhaus. 9th ed. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1940. 72.

Boeschenstein, Hermann. A History of Modern German Literature. Canadian Studies in German Language and Literature 40. Bern: Peter Lang, 1990.

Bond, Martyn Arthur. " 'Ich bin gegen das Einverständnis der Dinge in der Schöpfung'." German Life and Letters 30.4 (July, 1977): 299-306.

Briner, Heinrich Georg. Naturmystik, Biologischer Pessimismus,Ketzertum. Günter Eichs Werk im Spannungsfeld der Theodizee. Bonn: Bouvier, 1978.

Brown, Cheri A. "Günter Eich's 'Gespräche über Bäume'." Colloquia Germanica 19 (1986): 274-87.

Cuomo, Glenn R. Career at the Cost of Compromise: Günter Eich's Life and Work in the Years 1933-1945. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1989.

--. "Some New Facts about Günter Eich in the Nazi Period and the Importance of Context: A Reconstruction of his Nonextant Radio Play 'Rebellion in der Goldstadt'."University of Dayton Review 16.3 (1983/84): 3-8.

Demetz, Peter. Postwar German Literature. New York: Pegasus, 1970.

"Fehrbellin." Brockhaus. 19th ed. Volume 7. Mannheim: F.A. Brockhaus, 1988. 164.

Fetscher, Justus. "Spuren eines Spurlosen. Trauerarbeit im Schreiben Günter Eichs." Die Gruppe 47 in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik. Eds. Justus Fetscher et al. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1991.

Funke, Horst Günther. Die Literarische Form des deutschen Hörspiels in historischer Entwicklung. Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1963. Erlangen: privately printed, 1963.

Goebbels, Joseph. Reden. Band I: 1932-1939. Ed. Helmut Heiber. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971.

Görtz, Franz Josef. "Lehrstück über einen deutschen Schriftsteller." Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (May 19, 1988): no pages.

Greiner, Ulrich. "Ein Streit um Eich." Die Zeit 16 (April 23, 1993): no pages.

Grimm, Reinhold. "Wege zum Verständnis moderner deutscher Lyrik." Universitas 11 (1960): 1155-66.

Hajek, Siegfried. "Günter Eich: Aurora. Versuch einer Interpretation." Der Deutschunterricht 6 (1954): 23-27.

Hancock, W. K. Smuts. The Fields of Force 1919-1950. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Hart-Nibbrig, Christian L. "Sprengkitt zwischen den Zeilen. Versuch über Günter Eichs poetischen Anarchismus." Basis 7 (1977): 118-36.

Haverkamp, Anselm. "Lauras Metamorphosen (Eichs *Lauren*) Dekonstruktion einer lyrischen Figur in Prosa der *Maulwürfe*." Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift 58.2 (1984): 317-46.

Hay, Gerhard et al ed. "Als der Krieg zu Ende war." Literarisch-politische Publizistik 1945-1950. Exhibit catalogue 23, Schiller-Nationalmuseum. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1973.

Hennecke, Hans. "Über Günter Eich und Karl Krolow." Welt und Wort 14 (1959): 107-108.

Hermand, Jost et al eds. Nachkriegsliteratur in Westdeutschland 1945-49. Schreibweisen, Gattungen, Institutionen. Literatur im historischen Prozeß, Neue Folge 3. Argument-Sonderband AS 83. Berlin: Argument, 1982.

-- ed. Nachkriegsliteratur in Westdeutschland. Band 2: Autoren, Sprache, Traditionen. Literatur im historischen Prozeß, Neue Folge 10. Argument-Sonderband AS 116. Berlin: Argument, 1983.

Höllerer, Walter. "Rede auf den Preisträger." Über Günter Eich. Ed. Susanne Müller-Hanpft. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970.

--- . "Deutsche Lyrik 1900 bis 1950. Versuch einer Überschau und Forschungsbericht." Der Deutschunterricht 5.4 (1953): 72-104.

Hörbürger, Christian. Das Hörspiel der Weimarer Republik: Versuch einer kritischen Analyse. Stuttgart: Akad. Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1975.

Horst, Karl August. "Unsichtbares Puppenspiel." Merkur 11 (1953): 1090-92.

Jogschies, Rainer ed. Aus dem neuen Wörterbuch des Unmenschen. Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 1987.

Käser, Rudolf. "Zeichenmagie und Sprachkritk in einem Frühen Prosatext Günter Eichs. Eine Fallstudie zur Frage, wie literarische Texte ihre Lesbarkeit problematisieren." Sprachkunst 2 (1985): 202-20

Kaiser, Joachim. "Günter Eich, der Poet, ist gestorben." Günter Eich zum Gedächtnis. Ed. Siegried Unseld. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973. 82-86.

Kaneko, Sho. "Naturlyrik als Entscheidung - Günter Eichs Lyrik bis 1955." Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift 51.2 (1977): 247-71.

Karasek, Hellmuth. "Jahresmarkt der Flüchtigkeiten." Der Spiegel 48 (1979): 229-36.

Karst, Karl. " 'Alles was geschieht, geht dich an.' Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Träume von Günter Eich." Sprache im technischen Zeitalter 124 (1992): 474-83.

Ketelsen, Uwe-K. Völkisch-nationale und nationalsozialistische Literatur in Deutschland 1890-1945. Sammlung Metzler 142. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976.

Klempt, Heinrich. "Günter Eich: Träume." Der Deutschunterricht 6 (1960): 64.

Klose, Werner. Didaktik des Hörspiels. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1977.

--. "Chiffren der Wirklichkeit im Hörspiel Günter Eichs." Der Deutschunterricht 18 (1966): 68-78.

--. "Zur Hörspieldichtung Günter Eichs." Wirkendes Wort 7.3 (1957): 102-168.

Knörrich, Otto ed. Die Deutsche Lyrik seit 1945. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1978.

Krispyn, Egbert. "Günter Eich: Lies, Life, and Literature." West Virginia Philological Papers. 30 (1984): 63-67.

--. "Günter Eich and the Birds." German Quarterly 37 (1964): 246-56.

--. "Günter Eichs Lyrik bis 1964." German Quarterly 40 (1967): 320-38.

Lettau, Richard ed. Die Gruppe 47. Bericht, Kritik, Polemik. Ein Handbuch. Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1967.

Loewy, Ernst. Literatur unterm Hakenkreuz. Das Dritte Reich und seine Dichtung. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1967.

Lorbe, Ruth. "Georg Britting und Günter Eich auf der Oberstufe." Der Deutschunterricht 4 (1953): 60-71.

Lutz, Eckhart Conrad. "Von Dummling, der Eidechse, der Kunst und der Anarchie. Über Günter Eichs Umgang mit der Wirklichkeit." Poetica 15.1/2 (1983): 108-43.

Märki, Peter. Günter Eichs Hörspielkunst. Studentenreihe Humanitas. Frankfurt am Main: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1974.

Maier, Rudolf Nikolaus. "Dichter in dürftiger Zeit." Der Deutschunterricht 12 (1960): 52-60.

--. "Surrealistisches Inferno und schlichter Neubeginn. Moderne Lyrik im Unterricht." Wirkendes Wort 6.6 (1955/56): 364-54.

Mayer, Hans. Die umerzogene Literatur. Deutsche Schriftsteller und Bücher 1945-1967. Berlin: Siedler, 1988.

--. Zur deutschen Literatur der Zeit. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1967.

Meckel, Christoph. Suchbild. Über meinen Vater. Düsseldorf: Claassen, 1980.

Michaelis, Cassie and Heinz, W.O. Somin. Die Braune Kultur. Ein Dokumentenspiegel. Zürich: Europa Verlag, 1934.

Mosse, George L. Nazi Culture. Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966.

Mühlberger, Josef. "Günter Eichs Lyrik." Welt und Wort 11 (1956): 7-8.

Müller-Hanpft, Susanne ed. Günter Eich. Ein Lesebuch. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972.

--. Lyrik und Rezeption. Das Beispiel Günter Eich. Munich: Carl Hanser, 1972.

-- ed. Über Günter Eich. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970.

Neumann, Peter Horst. "Günter Eich und der Hörfunk im Nazi-Staat." Neue Zürcher Zeitung. (May 6, 1993). No pages.

--. Die Rettung der Poesie im Unsinn. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1981.

--. "Dichtung als Verweigerung. Versuch über Günter Eich." Merkur 28 (1974): 743-52.

Noakes, J. and G. Pridham eds. Nazism 1919-1945. Volume II. State, Economy and Society 1933-39. A Documentary Reader. Exeter Studies in History 8. Exeter: U of Exeter Press, 1984.

Oelmann, Ute Maria. Deutsche poetologische Lyrik nach 1945: Ingeborg Bachmann, Günter Eich, Paul Celan. Stuttgarter Arbeiten zur Germanistik. Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Hans- Dieter Heinz, 1980.

Ohde, Horst. Günter Eich oder vor der Aufkündigung des Einverstandenseins. Hamburg: Ortsvereinigung der Goethe-Gesellschaft in Weimar, 1985/86.

Oppermann, Michael. " Das Jahr Lazertis oder: Günter Eichs Begriff der 'Hergestellten Wirklichkeit'." Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 109.4 (1990): 538-51.

--. "Bemerkungen zur Kontinuität der inneren Wirklichkeit im Vor- und Nachkriegswerk Günter Eichs." Wirkendes Wort 2 (1989): 252-61.

Parkes, K. Stuart. Writers and Politics in West Germany. London: Croom Helm, 1986.

Post, Klaus Dieter. Günter Eich. Zwischen Angst und Einverständnis. Bonn: Bouvier, 1977.

Raddatz, Fritz J. "Wir werden weiter dichten, wenn alles in Scherben fällt ...: Der Beginn der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur." Die Zeit U. S. Edition 41 (October 19, 1979): 10.

Reich-Ranicki, Marcel. "Kein Denkmalschutz für Günter Eich.Zu den Prosastüken 'Maulwürfe'." Die Zeit (September 27, 1968): no pages.

Richardson, Larry L. Committed Aestheticism. The Poetic Theory and Practice of Günter Eich. American University Studies 21. New York: Peter Lang, 1983.

Richter, Hans Werner. Almanach der Gruppe 47. 1947-1962. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1962.

"S.A." Brockhaus. 19th ed. Volume 19. Mannheim: F.A. Brockhaus, 1988. 13.

Sabais, H.W. "Das Porträt 6. Günter Eich." Neue literarischer Welt 4.5 (March 16, 1953): 3.

Sauder, Gerhard. "Anfänge des 'neuen' Günter Eich (mit Blick auf Kulka)." Geist und Zeichen. Festschrift für Arthur Henkel. Ed. Herbert Anton et al. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1977: 333-50.

Schäfer, Hans Dieter. "Die nichtfaschistische Literatur der 'jungen Generation' im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland." Eds. Horst Denkler, Karl Prumm. Die deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1976: 459-503.

Schafroth, Heinz F. Günter Eich. Autorenbücher 1. Munich: C.H.Beck, 1976.

Schlawe, Fritz. Literarische Zeitschriften. Teil II 1910-1933. Sammlung Metzler 24. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1962.

Schnell, Ralf. Die Literatur der Bundesrepublik. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1986.

Schütz, Erhard and Jochen Vogt eds. Einführung in die deutsche Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts. Band 3: Bundesrepublik und DDR. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1980.

Schutte, Jürgen ed. Dichter und Richter. Die Gruppe 47 und die Nachkriegsliteratur. Exhibit catalogue. Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1988.

Schwitzke, Heinz. "Ein Wort ist länger als zehn." Neue Rundschau 4 (1973): 644-66.

--. "Günter Eichs theologische Herausforderung." Neue Deutsche Hefte 1 (1970): 249-72.

-- ed. Reclams Hörspielführer. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1969.

--. "Die Sprache des Hörspiels." Sprache im technischen Zeitalter 1 (1961): 45-54.

Segebrecht, Wulf. "Kann man noch mehr sein als Stein?" Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (October 8, 1991): 20-21.

Siemes, Christof. "Ein Kleiner Stachel," Die Zeit 44 (Oct. 29, 1993): 68.

Stolte, Dieter. "Auf den Spuren der Wirklichkeit. Anmerkungen Lyrik Günter Eichs." Wort und Wahrheit 5 (May, 1962): 382-86.

Storck, Joachim. "Im Grenzbereich von Groteske und Infamie." Süddeutsche Zeitung (March 23, 1993): no pages.

--. Günter Eich. Marbacher Magazin 45, 1988.

Taylor, James and Warren Shaw. The Third Reich Almanac. New York: Pharos Books, 1987.

Trommler, Frank. "Emigration und Nachkriegsliteratur: Zum Problem der geschichtlichen Kontinuität." Exil und Nachkriegsliteratur: Third Wisconsin Workshop. Eds. Reinhold Grimm, Jost Hermand. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1972: 173-197.

--. "Der 'Nullpunkt 1945' und seine Verbindlichkeit für die Literaturgeschichte." Basis 1 (1970): 9-25.

Ude, Karl. "Hat das literarische Hörspiel eine Zukunft?" Welt und Wort 15 (1960): 203-04.

Unseld, Siegfried ed. Günter Eich zum Gedächtnis. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973.

Vieregg, Axel. Die eigene Fehlbarkeit begegnet. Günter Eichs Realitäten 1933-1945. Eggingen: Edition Isele, 1993.

--. "Die Historie als Wiedersacherin der Poesie." Die Zeit 48 (November 26, 1993): no pages.

Wallmann, Jürgen P. Argumente. Informationen und Meinungen zur deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart. Aufsätze und Kritiken. Mühlacker: Stieglitz, 1968.

Wehdeking, Volker. Anfänge Westdeutscher Nachkriegsliteratur. Aachen: Alano, 1989.

Weissenberger, Klaus ed. Die Deutsche Lyrik 1945-1975. Düsseldorf: Bagel, 1981.

Wilpert, Gero von, ed. Lexikon der Weltliteratur. Band I. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1988.

Wittmann, Livia Z. "Ein Überblick über Günter Eichs literatur- und sprachtheoretische Äußerungen 1930-1971." Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift 48 (1974): 567-78.

Würffel, Stefan Bodo. Das deutsche Hörspiel. Sammlung Metzler 172. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978.

APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGY OF EICH'S WORKS: 1927-1972

* Texts discoverd by Glenn R. Cuomo.
+ Texts discovered by Karl Karst and Axel Vieregg.

1927

Poetry:

Under the pseudonym Erich Günter:
"Verirrt"
"Nach dreißig Wochen grundloser"
"Im Dunkel bluten immer noch die Wunden der Heiligen"
"Ich lebe fast ohne Schmerzen"
"Schritte gehn in irgendeiner Dunkelheit"
"Verse an vielen Abenden" (Verse trilogy composed of: "Herumtrabend mit hungrigen Wolfschritten um deine verlassene Hütte," "Es genügte, ein Tier zu sein," "Deine Tage gehen falsch.")

Essays:

Under the pseudonym Erich Günter:
"Europa contra China"

1928

Poetry:

"Bildnis von Ulalu" (later entitled "Bildnis eines Mädchens")
"Der Anfang kühlerer Tage"

1929

Poetry:

"Among my Souvenirs"
"Ägyptische Plastik"
"Tango"

1930

Poetry:

"Gegen vier Uhr nachmittags"
"Photographie"
"Gedichte im März oder Oktober"
(All three poems were later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte.)

Gedichte

Essays:

"Innere Dialoge"

Radio Texts:

Dreigespräch aus einem Drama

Reviews:

"Anmerkungen zu den Gedichten von Villon"

1931

Poetry:

"Erwachen"
"Morgen"

Prose:

Morgen an der Oder
Prosafragment
Eine alte Frau
Ein Begräbnis (unpublished)

Plays:

Der Präsident

Reviews:

"Johannes R. Bechers 'Der große Plan'"
"Guido Zernattos Gedichte"

Under the pseudonym Georg Winter:
*"Die Vermischung der Formen" (Review of Gottfried Benn's "Fazit der Perspektiven")
*"Marschieren - nicht Träumen" (Review of the novel by Emil Belzner)

Radio Texts:

Leben und Sterben des Sängers Caruso (With Martin Raschke. Text nonextant)

1932

Poetry:

"Manchmal"
"Erste Januar"
(Both poems later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte.)

Radio Texts:

Ein Traum am Edsin-gol
+ Die Liebenden von Gestern (Text nonextant)
+ Berliner Fontanezeit

Prose:

Eine Karte im Atlas

Essays:

"Bemerkungen über Lyrik. Eine Antwort an Bernhard Diebold"

Reviews:

"Zu Flauberts Education Sentimentale"
Under the pseudonym Georg Winter:
*"Um uns die Stadt: Eine Anthologie neuer Großstadtdichtung"
*"Verse von Georg von der Vring"
*"Die Morganlandfahrt von Hermann Hesse"
*"Stern überm Haus. Gedichte und Legenden von Fritz Diettrich"

1933

Poetry:

"Gegenwart"
"Vom Zuge aus"
"Wald vor dem Tage"
"Gesicht"
"Schlaflied am frühen Abend"

Plays:

Der Glücksritter

Radio Texts:

* Ich lerne Chinesisch (Previously listed as a 1950s text.)

Eine Geburtsfeier für Herrn von Münchhausen
Lustiges Lumpenpack (Text in Marbach Archives.)
* Günter Eich liest eigene Prosa (Text nonextant.)
* Aus dem Leben des Abenteurers Munchhausen (Text nonextant.)
* Till Eulenspiegel (Text nonextant.)
Die Glücksritter (Radio play text nonextant.)
* Dinkelmann und sein Glück (Text nonextant.)
* In den Staub mit allen Feinden Brandenburgs! Das Werk des Großen Kurfürsten (Text nonextant.)
* Museum für schwarze Kunst und Zauberei (Text nonextant.)
Eine Stunde Lexikon
Brandenburgs Adler über Afrika: Großfriedrichsburg - des Großen Kurfürsten preußische Kolonie: Eine Hörfolge (Text nonextant.)
Deutscher Kalender: Oktober. Ein Monatsbild vom Königswusterhäuser Landboten (With Martin Raschke. This text was that of the first broadcast of a regular monthly series which ran until May 9, 1940. Excerpts are published in Die Literatur and in the anthology Das festliche Jahr published in 1936.)
* Reise ins Schlaraffenland (Text nonextant.)

Essays:

"Hebels "Schatzkästlein" im Rundfunk" (Commentary on Eich's radio play Lustiges Lumpenpack which was based on Hebel's story.)

Reviews:

"Heinrich Hauser, Noch nicht"

1934

Poetry:

"Der Hauch aus meinem Munde steigt"
"Kindheit"
"Abend im März" (Later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte.)
"Tag im Herbst"
"Nacht"
"Mittag"
"Zu einer alten Photographie"

Radio Texts:

Das Raritätenkabinett: Ein Spiel um ein paar schöne Schallplatten (Text nonextant.)
Ich träumt in seinem Schatten: Szenen um deutsche Volkslieder (Text nonextant.)
* Münchhausen erzählt von seien Abenteuern (Text nonextant.)
Taugenichts - Tagediebe: Die bunte Welt der Landstraße nach alten Schwanken und Erzählungen von Eichendorff, Hebel und Hamsun (Text nonextant.)

* Gespräche am Strande: Ein kleiner Ostseeführer (Text nonextant.)
* Weg über die Heide: Zum heutigen 20. Todestag von Hermann Löns (Text nonextant.)
* Von einem, der auszog, das Gruseln zu lernen ... Ein fröhlicher Abend mit guten und bösen Geistern (Text nonextant)

1935

Poetry:

"Weg durch die Dünen" (Later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte.)
"Wind über die Stadt"
"Lupinen"

Prose:

Katharina

Radio Texts:

* Ballade von Whisky und Gin (With A.Arthur Kuhnert. Text nonextant.)
* Das Spiel vom Teufel und dem Geiger. Eine Ballade um Niccolo Paganini (Text in the central archives of the Süddeutscher Rundfunk.)
Schritte zu Andreas
Der Fischer und seine Frau (Text nonextant.)
Das kalte Herz: Märchenoper für den Funk (Poems from the radio play are reprinted in Gesammelte Werke I 206. Text of the radio play is in the Marbach Archive, Schiller Museum, Marbach an der Neckar.)
* Mutter und Kind: Hörfolge (Text nonextant.)
* Gebt Acht auf MacDown (With A. Arthur Kuhnert. Text nonextant.)
* Kapelle Wolf heult oder die Macht der Musik: Ein lustiges Funkspiel (Text nonextant.)
Straßen hin und Straßen her... Ein herbstlicher Bilderbogen (Text nonextant.)
* Nanuks Glück und Ende: Eine Moralität in acht Kapiteln (Text nonextant.)
* Sprung nach Island: Eine kleine unterhaltsame Reise mit Hörspielern des Reichssenders Köln (Text nonextant.)

1936

Prose:

Die Schattenschlacht

Radio Texts:

Die Tasche des Landbriefträgers Döderlin
* Künstlerpech: Ein musikalisches Funkspiel (Text nonextant.)
Die Weizenkantate (Fragment in Gesammelte Werke II 59-63)

Fährten in die Prärie: Ein Spiel aus der untergehenden Welt Old Shatterhands und Winnetous (The Marbach archives has four versions. The version in the Gesammelte Werke II 65-95, was written in 1959.)
Der seltsame Gast: Ein neuer Totentanz in sechs Bildern (Text nonextant.)
Ein Mann kämpft mit seinem Traum: Ein Hörspiel aus dem Schwedischen (A reworking of Robert Dinesen's translation of Ove Ekelund's radio play. Text in Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv.)

Prose:

Das festliche Jahr. Lesebüchlein vom Königswusterhäuser Landboten (With Martin Raschke.)

1937

Poetry:

"Septemberliches Lied vom Storch" (Written sometime between 1933 and 1937)

Radio Texts:

* Krusemann: Ein Querschnitt durch den Roman von H[einrich] W[olfgang] Seidel (Text nonextant.)
* Die Welt auf Schienen! Eine Funkfantasie über die Eisenbahn (Primarily the work of A. Artur Kuhnert with contributions by Eich among others. Text nonextant.)
* Der große Krebs im Mohriner See und andere Geschichten um märkische Gewässer (Text nonextant.)
Der Märkische Kalendermann sagt den neuen Monat an (First broadcast in a monthly series of thirty minute episodes. Series ran until July 31, 1939. Total of 24 episodes.Texts nonextant.)
Radium: Ein Hörspiel nach Motiven des Romans von Rudolf Brunngraber
* Rührende und tolldreiste Geschichten um Liebe: Für den Funk umgedichtet (First in a series of medieval adaptations. Here four tales are presented, "Der Falke," "Königin Isabeau," "Sylvabel," and "Die geheimnisvolle Tür." No texts are extant.)

1938

Poetry:

"Wiederkehr"
"Rübenernte"
"Der Tag im März"
"Erstes Eis"
(The last two poems were incorrectly classified under unpublished material from 1945-1955.)

Radio Texts:

* Altdeutsche Geschichten von Liebe und Tod: Szenen, Erzählungen, Balladen und Lieder aus "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" mit alter deutscher Musik (Text nonextant.)

* Altdeutsche Geschichten und Lieder von Liebe: Für den Rundfunk neu geschrieben (Text nonextant.)
* Wenn die Kartoffelfeuer rauchen: Ernsthaftes und Spaßiges um ein Knollengewächs (Text nonextant.)
* Geliebte Heimat, Havelland: Eine Fontanesendung (Text nonextant.)

1939

Radio Texts:

* Das Kuriositätenkabinett: Sechs lebende Bilder gestellt von Günter Eich mit Musik von Schallplatten (Text nonextant.)
Der Tod an den Händen (Text nonextant.)
Alles dreht sich, alles bewegt sich: Karusell in bunten Szenen (Text lost in 1962.)
* Der vielbeschriebene Kuckuck (Text nonextant.)
* Balthasar Neumann: Hörszenen um den bedeutenden deutschen Baumeister (Original text nonextant, rewritten in 1950.)
* Jungen Rhabarber (Text nonextant.)
* Sternschnuppen und Wunschträume: Improvisationen im August (Text nonextant.)

1940

Radio Texts:

Rebellion in der Goldstadt. Also listed as Aufstand in der Goldstadt (Rediscovered in Prague in October, 1993.)

1944

Poetry:

"Beim Telegrafenbau" ("Herbstlich," "Die Drehkreuzachse," "Sonne im Oktobernebel," "Nebelmosiak". Later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte.)

1945

Poetry:

"Wind"
"Abgelegene Gehöfte"
(Both poems later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte.)

Radio Texts:

Der Hilfreiche Wachposten

1946

Poetry:

"Aurora"
"Frühlingsbeginn"
"Winterliche Miniatur"
"Die Orgel der Sümpfe"
"Frühling in der goldenen Meil"
"Im verflossenen Herbst"
"Mohn"
"Latrine" (or 1940?)
"Der Nachtwind weht"
"Geisenhausen"
"Die Lärche"
"Alter Reim"
"Ginster"
"Wiepersdorf, die Arminischen Gräber"
"Herbstliches Meer"
(All later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte.)

1947

Poetry:

"Oktobers durch die Holledau"
"Mit klappernden Zähnen am Morgen Sophie"
"Wie grau es auch regnet"
"Camp 16"
"An die Lerche"
"Variationen über eine Novemberlandschaft"
"Winterliche Fahrt"
(All later included in Abgelegene Gehöfte.)

"Februar"
"Die Knaben im Boot"
"Angst"
(All later included in Untergrundbahn.)
"Sternschnuppen" (Or 1939, according to Cuomo.)

Prose:

Züge im Nebel

1948

Poetry:

Abgelegene Gehöfte
"Mirjam" (UB)
"Betrachtet die Fingerspitzen" (UB)

Radio Texts:

Dornröschen
Der 29. Februar
Jens und die Trolle
Die Glücksschuhe

1949

Poetry:

Untergrundbahn
"Die Weberin"

1950

Radio Texts:

Die gekaufte Prüfung
Geh nicht nach El-Kuwehd!
Träume
Der Strom
Lady Hamilton
Mein Lama
Die Bettler
Das Diamantenhalsband
+Die Favoritin
+Weisen
+Der Fischzug
+Sonate in e-moll
Des Fürsten
+In der Goethe-Klause

Essays:

"Chinesisch. Beitrag zur Sprachkenntnis"

1951

Radio Texts:

Sabeth
Fis mit Obertönen
Unterm Birnbaum
Verweile, Wanderer
Die Andere und Ich
+Tabula rasa
+Reparaturwerkstatt Muck
+Bolivianische Ballade
+Blinder in Paris (Fragment. Precursor to Blick auf Venedig.)

1952

Radio Texts:

Blick auf Venedig (I)
Der Tiger Jussuf (I)
Die Gäste des Herrn Birowski
Die Mädchen aus Viterbo (I)

Translations:

"Übersetzungen aus dem Chinesischen"

1953

Radio Texts:

Das Jahr Lazertis
Hilda

Speeches:

"Rede vor den Kriegsblinden"

1954

Radio Texts:

Beatrice und Juana
Rustum und Tadmura (Fragment.)
Der sechste Traum

Prose:

"Der Stelzengänger"

1955

Poetry:

Botschaften des Regens

Radio Texts:

Zinngeschrei
Der letzte Tag

1956

Radio Texts:

Das lachende Mädchen
Die Stunde des Huflattiches (I)

Speeches:

"Der Schriftsteller vor der Realität"

1957

Radio Texts:

Die Brandung vor Setubal
Allah hat hundert Namen
Omar und Omar

1958

Radio Texts:

Philodors Verteidigung
Festianus Märtyrer
Die Mädchen aus Viterbo (II) (Rewrite.)

1959

Radio Texts:

Der Tiger Jussuf (II) (Rewrite.)
Die Stunde des Huflattiches (II) (Rewrite.)

Witten Ruhr

Speeches:

"Rede zur Verleihung des Georg-Büchner-Preises 1959"

1960

Radio Texts:

Blick auf Venedig (II) (Rewrite)
Meine sieben jungen Freunde (Rewrite of Die Gäste des Herrn Birowski)

Essays:

"Nachwort zu Herrn Walsers Raben. Von Wolfgang Hildesheimer"

1962

Der Konfuse Zauberer

1964

Poetry:

Zu den Akten

Radio Texts:

Man bittet zu läuten

Puppet Plays:

Unter Wasser
Böhmische Schneider

1965

Essays;

"Einige Bemerkungen zum Thema Literatur und Wirklichkeit"

1966

Poetry:

Anlässe und Steingarten

1967

Prose:

Keltologen und Iranisten kann man unter dem gleichen Hut zu Fall bringen

1968

Poetry:

Kulka, Hilpert, Elefanten
Maulwürfe

1970

Poetry:

Ein Tibeter in meinem Büro

1971

Poetry:

"Aufschub"
"Vorwinter"
"Alter Dezember"
"Uelzen 1907"

Prose:

Schloßbesichtigung
Wegbeschreibung

1972

Poetry:

"Addieren"
"Fortsetzung"
Nach Seumes Papieren

Radio Texts:

Zeit und Kartoffeln